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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 July 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

U.S.-USSR AFGHAN TALKS 'IMPERIALIST BARGAIN'

AU231630 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 23 Jun 85

/ZERI I POPULLIT Article: "Bargains of the Soviet Union and United States on Afghanistan/

/Text/ A meeting between the U.S. Undersecretary of State for Middle East Affairs Richard Murphy and the Director of the Middle East Department at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs Yuriy Aleksey took place in the American capital. The topic of the bilateral talks, United States-the Soviet Union, is Afghanistan.

The two superpowers do not proceed at all the recent bargains from the desire to solve the problems of Afghanistan. /sentence as received/ On the contrary, the Soviet Union, which maintains Afghanistan occupied, wants by all manner of means to stamp out the resistance of the Afghan people. While intensifying the occupation and terror in Afghanistan, it is in the interest of the Soviet Union to pose on the international arena that it is allegedly for a political solution of the problem of Afghanistan, that in case some of its conditions are realized, it will withdraw from Afghanistan, etc. The Soviet Union needs these bargains to demand from America to let it free in Afghanistan and accept this zone as a zone of the Soviet domination.

On its part, the United States, fulfilling the Soviet conditions and demands for these talks, wants to realize some of their aims. They too want in exchange that the Soviets leave them free in Central America or, in any other zone that Washington considers its sphere. What unites the two superpowers in the bargains against the Afghan people and their struggle is also their known hostility against the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The American-Soviet talks in Washington are not held on the so-called solution of the Afghanistan problem, but they are imperialist-type bargain of big powers. No one has granted the right to the superpowers to discuss tete-a-tete on the problem of a people that shed blood for their territory.

The Afghan people and the other peoples fighting for freedom and independence will never accept that their destinies become an object of imperialist bargains, ZERI I POPULLIT concludes.

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ALBANIA

HIJACK PRETEXT FOR U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP TO PURSUE INTERESTS

AU211017 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 21 Jun 85

/Article: "U.S. Military Blackmail in the Shores of Lebanon"

/Text/ Under the pretext of highjacking the U.S. "Boeing 727," the U.S. Department of Defense has sent to the shores of Lebanon a group of warships escorted by special forces. Part of this open blackmail and great psychological pressure on the Arab opinion and peoples are also the statements expressed in the language of force by the Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger.

This growth of the naval military presence in the vicinity of Lebanon shows once more the real essence of the aggressive American policy in the Middle East. It is another manifestation of the imperialist ambitions of the United States, their readiness to interfere with the force of arms in the conflict of this region. It is in the nature of the U.S. policy to find out or create pretexts which they use to increase the interference against the peoples and countries of the Middle East, up to the direct military aggression. The U.S. imperialists have acted like this continuously and everywhere when their hegemonic and expansionist interests ask it.

The new situation created in the Middle East is now exploited by the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli Zionists to intimidate and kneel down the Arab people. Thus we have to do with a coordination of the political and diplomatic offensive with the use of the military force.

Moscow presents the intensification of the movements of the U.S. warships as a pretext to increase the number of its warships and to intensify the Soviet military pressure in the Middle East coasts.

The Albanian people, as a sincere friend of the fraternal Arab peoples, energetically condemns this new military escalation of the United States in the Middle East. They express their conviction that the Arab peoples will certainly find forces to unite with one another and to cope with the new military blackmail of the U.S. imperialists.

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ALBANIA

AWP DAILY ON SUPERPOWERS IN MEDITERRANEAN

AUL21618 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 12 Jun 85

/ZERI I POPULLIT Article: "The Activity of Superpowers in the Mediterranean Creates Worries and Dangers For All the Peoples of the Region"

/Text/ The maneuvers that the Sixth American Fleet and warships of other NATO member countries are conducting these days have as their main target the blockade and closure of Gibraltar Strait, writes among others the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT. This element throws light on the intensification of the military-naval activity by the superpowers in the Mediterranean and testifies to their aims in this region.

In his book "Reflections on the Middle East" Comrade Enver Hoxha warned that the events in Middle East would have their impact on the Mediterranean and would be used by the two superpowers as means to achieve their goals. This is proved now by the numerical growth of the warships of the two American and Soviet Fleets, by the increase of their armament and crews, and by the intensification of the political and military activity towards the Mediterranean countries. The Mediterranean has been actually turned into one of the main place d'armes of the two superpowers. The United States alone has set up about 200 bases and military strongholds in the Mediterranean countries for its troops and fleet. Soviet Navy has also set up strongholds and bases for supplies. The warships of one or the other superpower constantly visit the ports of the Mediterranean. The presence of the two imperialist superpowers in the region is dangerous not only for the peoples of the countries which accept them but it is equally dangerous for the neighboring peoples and the other peoples of this region.

Such development of events testifies to the correctness of the stand always adopted by socialist Albania on the removal of fleets, bases and military presence of the superpowers from the Mediterranean. This is the only path to prevent the Mediterranean from becoming an arena of clashes and aggressive wars, to prevent it from being used as a region of military-naval attacks and adventures on the part of two superpowers. The Mediterranean belongs only to the Mediterranean peoples and countries but this can be achieved through resolute struggle against the policy of the superpowers, through vigilance and powerful defense of the interests of the peoples, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT concludes.

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ALBANIA

BRIEFS

ALIA RECEIVES FRENCH AMBASSADOR--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Philippe Lagrain, who presented the credentials. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials were Reis Malile, the minister of foreign affairs, Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Andon Berxholi, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Jovan Antoni, chairman of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ambassador was accompanied by the Adviser of the embassy Robert Imperato and the Trade Adviser of the embassy Norbert Peinado. /Text/ /Tirana ATA in English 1252 GMT 22 Jun 85/

ALIA RECEIVES GUINEA AMBASSADOR--The president of the presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Comrade Ramiz Alia received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Fode Cisse /spelling as received/, who presented the credentials. Present at the ceremony of the handing over of the credentials were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj, the Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Andon Berxholi and the Chief of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jovan Antoni. The ambassador was accompanied by the adviser of the Embassy N'fanli Bangura /spelling as received/. /Text/ /Tirana ATA in English 1252 GMT 22 Jun 85/

MALILE RECEIVES GUINEA AMBASSADOR--The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Reis Malile received yesterday the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Fode Sisse, /spelling as received/ with regard to the forthcoming presentation of the credentials to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. /Text/ /Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 21 Jun 85/

MINISTER ATTENDS SPORTS ANNIVERSARY--Thirty-years are completed since the creation of "Dinamo" sports club, one of the most well known clubs in our country through its high results attained in physical culture and sport. A jubilee meeting was held in one of the halls of Officers' House of Minister of Internal Affairs. Attending were also the minister of internal affairs, Mekuran Isai and other comrades. The man in charge of this club spoke on the 35-year-long road of "Dinamo" sports club. /passage omitted/ /Excerpt/ /Tirana ATA in English 0819 GMT 20 Jun 85/

NEW FRENCH AMBASSADOR ARRIVES--The newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Philip Legrain arrived in our country on 13 June. The ambassador was welcomed at the airport by the chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jovan Antoni. /Text/ /Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT
14 Jun 85/

MANUSH MYFTIU ATTENDS SYMPOSIUM--The National Symposium on Geographical Studies, organized by the Academy of Sciences and the Enver Hoxha University of Tirana was organized in the capital yesterday before noon. Attending were working people of scientific institutions, of the Academy of Sciences, the Enver Hoxha University of Tirana and other higher schools of the country. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Manush Myftiu, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami, the rector of Enver Hoxha University on Tirana, Prof Osman Kraja, the chairman of the Committee of Science and Technology Ajet Ylli and other comrades. The symposium was declared open by the vice president of the Academy of Science Prof Kole Popa. Then the chief of the sector of geographical studies at the Academy of Sciences, Doc /as received/ Mevlan Kabo read out the report "The Situation and the Actual and Perspective Tasks in the Field of Our Geographical Studies." /passage omitted/ Then the following papers were held: "The Fundamental Geomorphological Features of Albania and Some Problems of the Practice," "Problems of the Geographical-economic Development During the Period of the Socialist Construction" as well as "Aspects of the Geographical Structure and Extension of Population in our Country." /passage omitted/ /Excerpts/ /Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT
14 Jun 85/

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY REJECTS PLURALISM FOR MARXISTS

AU131251 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Pavol Mestan, Doctor of Philosophy, assistant professor, Candidate of Sciences, and lecturer of the Slovak Community Party Central Committee, in the "On a Theoretical Topic" column: "On the Waves of Pluralism"]

[Text] The philosophical dictionary defines pluralism as a concept that is the "opposite of monism, according to which all that exists is composed of a quantity of equivalent isolated substances, not reduceable to a unified principle. The shift toward pluralism expresses the endeavor of present day idealists (pragmatists, neopositivists, existentialists, and others) to elevate themselves above materialistic and idealistic monism. The concept of pluralism is being exploited to discredit the monist philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, as well as the political system of socialism, and to validate bourgeois democracy."

Political pluralism can be depicted as being one of the features of the ideology and the policy of the so-called democratic socialism. Its theoreticians have constructed a concept of an artificial social structure that, in addition to the fact that it ignores the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is to assure some sort of bourgeois "mass democracy". That democracy is to rest on a mass grouping of large social groups who, by their importance and authority, are capable of influencing political developments and thus exerting pressure on the state. (Thus what is involved is the distortion of the ideas of Friedrich Engels, who showed that in class-antagonist formations the state is a strong organization of the class of the haves to protect it against the class of the have-nots.)

Thus the consequence of the "mass nature of democracy" in the practices of some capitalist countries is the seeming dispersion of political power between the state and numerous groups, strata, and associations, that differ from one another by property and income, by economic and social interests, or weltanschauung, affiliation with political parties, and other criteria. In such a diffusion the main issue is no longer the vertical relationship of superiority and subordination between those who rule and those who are

ruled, but--allegedly--the horizontal relationships between political subjects with practically equal rights, which come into being in the course of a search for optimal forms to regulate social life.

The existence and establishment of further groups, strata, and associations which, in their terminology, form a "harmonious society," is being depicted as the most important criterion of pluralist society. Its ideologists deny the class antagonisms of the capitalist social system. The theories of political pluralism have a history going back centuries. Contemporary politologues regard the views of the historian Otto von Gierke to be the fountainhead of European theories on pluralism. He stressed the undeniability of the entitlement to a state sovereignty, and, contrary to the Marxist-Leninist perception of class struggle, with his application (splikacie) and aim to liquidate the class enemy he outlined the reformist pluralistic concept of partnership.

Laborist Harold J. Laski was the first of the English theoreticians to use the term pluralism. As part of a reformist theory, he elaborated the theory of the pluralist state, which is the basis of the theories of pluralist democracy. He stressed that in addition to the state there exist organizations that depend on it and that carry out important social functions often better than the state, because--according to him--they adapt to the specific needs of their membership and their interests. The state has no monopoly on power, it shares it with other organizations that have, together with it and outside it, real power in various matters, and an individual is thus--in addition to the state--connected also with them. In such an organizational system democracy then acquires "pluralist" character, it is being dispersed among a multitude of subjects--associations. That is the way to "liquidate" the classical class structure of bourgeois society, the consequence of which is the "nonsensicality" of the class struggle of the proletariat.

This gives to this theory an unequivocally reformist and antisocialist character and content, and in fact does not weaken, but strengthens the positions of monopolist bourgeoisie. The main role among associations play those groups that have at their disposal the largest material and other potential, that is, groups of bourgeoisie vitally connected with its system. Other associations exist relatively independently of their membership, while the membership--if it wants to satisfy its interests and needs--depends on a "collective" course by way of an association.

By this "over institutionalization" of the social and political life, the masses of the population are fettered to capitalist reality. The structure of the bourgeois society is not only not being dissolved, as the proponents of this theory assert, but--on the contrary--it is being preserved.

The Marxists see the question of the state as the main question of revolution in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions. Its importance is given, above all, by the fact that it defends the interests of a class that has the leading position in the manner of production that has ensued in

the course of history, that it is an instrument implementing the main economic and political tasks of the ruling class, the main power and directing instruments of that class.

Against the Proletariat

The pluralist political system is being used by the bourgeois politologues for propagating and idealizing the "democratic" system of parties, which makes partnership and rivalry between them possible. The parties are supposed to conduct and, after all, they do conduct, a mutual fight for the electorate's votes and for political power in the state.

The basic purpose of the bourgeois interpretation of the "political system" category is characterized by the fact that it is based on a nonclass understanding of politics and of the political system, on idealistic theories of society. The bourgeois theoreticians study the political system in isolation from realistic sociopolitical processes; they reject the theory of classes and class struggle, as well as the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They reduce politics and the political system to merely (or usually merely) organizational-institutional creations, regarding the individual or the group as the main subject of politics.

Such an approach makes it, above all, possible to "rid" the political system of its class-political content and its economic and class-political relations in society. This causes the qualitative difference and the basic contradiction between the bourgeois and the socialist political system to disappear in the bourgeois interpretation, and at the same time creates the possibility of "scientifically" constructing the political system as a system of institutions and mutual relations regardless of the existing class-social structure of society. This leads to the search for, and the construction of, "general models of the political system," and so forth.

When the Austrian bourgeois theoretician Anton Pelinka analyzes the structure and functions of political parties, he proceeds from the premise that "democracy in the 20th century can only be a state of parties."

In the final analysis, the big bourgeoisie is not interested in which bourgeois party is in power; but the leaders and leadership of parties are vitally interested in the power or pseudo-power posts which yield a financial or social effect.

The system of parties underscores formal democratism, which is typical of the capitalist society. Bourgeois ideologues are striving to conceal the fact that economic and political power lies in the hands of the bourgeois class. They are covering up this fact by the illusion that the democratic legal norms, the population's right to vote and to be elected, allegedly prove that the power lies in the hands of the people. The pluralist system is linked with the concept of social partnership and participation. Democratism is developed through these phenomena--that democratism, which is

said to enable all people to share political power. The theoreticians of social reformism are striving to prove by the so-called principle of representation that the workers class, too, has its place in the capitalist political system.

Their claims are not new. They proceed from the views that emerged in the growing workers movement and which misinterpreted the Marxist-Leninist logic of revolutionary transformations. These views say that the workers class can achieve a steadily increasing influence in the capitalist society without any revolutionary reversal; and they finally led to a programmatic revision of Marxism-Leninism as represented by Edward Bernstein. He rejected Marx's concept of the logic of revolutionary transformations and came to the view that capitalism can be gradually transformed into socialism by way of bourgeois democratism.

In the countries of real socialism no objective foundations exist for "political pluralism," because there a gradual rapprochement of all classes and strata is taking place; this is expressed in the socialist political system headed by the Marxist-Leninist party. At the same time the state of realization of the leading role of the workers class and also its growth depend on the activity carried out by the party and by all members of the individual components of the political system. The workers class and its vanguard can pursue their leading role both in the system of one party, and in the system of several parties.

The system of several parties in the socialist countries can exist, as is shown by the Soviet lady author, Professor Y.d. Modzhinskaya (and as is also shown by our Czechoslovak experience), solely under the following conditions:

- 1) that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is ensured in it;
- 2) that all parties adopt socialist standpoints; and
- 3) that all parties express the interests of the working people.

Misinterpretation of Marxism

The concept of "democratic socialism," which most parties of the Socialist International have adopted as their ideological platform, formally proceeds from the "pluralism of world outlook." The declaration of the Socialist International, called "The Goals and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," states:

Socialism is an international movement, which in no respect demands a completely identical approach. It makes no difference whether the socialists proceed in their conviction from the results of a Marxist analysis, or from a social analysis based on other prerequisites; or whether they have religious and humanitarian reasons for their conviction.

The roots of the principle of world-outlook plurality go back to the "classic" of revisionism, Edward Bernstein; but above all its roots lie in the theory of the Austromarxists. We can find in their arsenal such claims as the one that Marxism is a social science, and not a world outlook; that it need not be linked with the workers class and the communist party, or that a multitude of "national socialisms" corresponds to Marx's theory.

The philosophy of "Austromarxism" leads, via the "revelation" of the contradiction between social science and proletarian ideology, to the rejection of the world-outlook nature of Marx's doctrine and to attempts to isolate scientific communism from its social base, the workers class. It is a way of introducing an idealist, bourgeois world outlook into the theory and practice of the workers movement.

The current rightwing revisionism is drawing from "Austromarxism" not only the "plurality" of Marxism and the plurality of "models" of socialism, but also the differences between Leninism as an allegedly Eastern Marxism on the one hand and the various so-called Marxisms in the countries of the West on the other. One can unambiguously state that the orientation toward a devaluation of Leninism, with its specifically revolutionary path towards socialism, is the object of the entire revisionist theory. In the rejection of the unity of Marxism and Leninism its creators are seeking justification for the pseudo-socialist character of their own theories.

The class essence, the function and goals of revisionism have not changed. What has changed, are its theoretical sources. The enhanced authority of Marx's doctrine makes it impossible to repeat in a new form the old slogan "back to Kant"--that is, the withdrawal from Marx toward one of the bourgeois philosophers; for this reason, even though this might seem a paradox at first sight, they proclaim a return to Marx. Today their common slogan is "back to Marx," but to the "authentic" and "original," the "true" Marx. The revision of Marxism-Leninism is being carried out in the name of Marx himself.

The current revisionist concept of Marxism is an attempt to "open it up" for the integration of the bourgeois ideology. All the "open," "modern," "humane" Marxisms are nothing but a petty-bourgeois revision of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, in his works "What Marx Really Said" and "What Lenin Really Said," Ernst Fischer offers a number of "open" interpretations of Marxism. Apart from Marxism as a scientific theory, he elevates Marxism as an anthropology with a basic category of alienation, and Marxism as a structuralistically interpreted hierarchy of notions with new problems. But what Ernst Fischer excludes from these Marxisms is Marxism as a revolutionary theory of the workers class, as the theoretical base for the fight against imperialism and for building socialism.

The recognition of Marxism under the guise of a "return to Marx" does not in the least weaken the effort of rightwing revisionists to disprove Marxism and to undermine its influence in their own countries. On the contrary.

The multilateral nature of the Marxisms, and the attempts to isolate Leninism from Marxism, means a falsification of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution, a falsification of the doctrine on dictatorship and on the party of the workers class. It is an attempt to make it impossible for the workers class to carry out its historic mission, and to preserve capitalism as an eternal and unchangeable social system.

The concepts of pluralism are an ideological reflection of the strategy of rightwing revisionism and reformism, aimed at defending capitalism and liquidating the theory and practice of real socialism. Their aim is to cause the workers class to disintegrate. That is why they proclaim in their countries the slogan that democracy can only be a system of parties. That is why they recommend to the socialist countries those various models of self-administration and so-called independent trade unions. They are trying to replace the scientific world outlook of the workers party by the so-called world-outlook pluralism.

CSO: 2400/483

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SECURITY OFFICIAL EXPLAINS NEW IDENTITY DOCUMENTS

AU141352 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 June carries on page 2 a 1,150-word interview given by Colonel Vojtech Tomas, doctor of social sciences and chief of the Federal Administration of Public Security, to Jindrich Spevak. The interview, entitled "New Civic Identity Documents", deals with the new type of identity document for CSSR citizens, which will be issued as of 1 July 1985 in accordance with the Public Notice No. 119, issued by the Federal Ministry of Interior and published in the Body of Laws, (Sbirka Zakonu) part 24, of 23 November 1984.

The identity documents, Tomas is said to point out, are "used as a public document by means of which the Czechoslovak citizens prove their identity, their citizenship, domicile," and so forth, and which include details about children under 15 years of age, who their parents are, or by whom they have been adopted. The new entries, according to Tomas, will also include the marriage partner's birth certificate number and place of birth; another change will be a smaller-size photograph of the card-holder (3.5 x 4.5 cm instead of 5.5 x 6.5 cm) on glossy paper, instead of the mat paper required to date. According to Tomas, the data on employment will now include entries about secondary school and university education, and the fact that the citizen is pursuing as his main job the activity for which he has been issued a permit by the national committee." It will now be the citizen's duty to present his identity document for confirmation to the school where he attends day studies both at the beginning and at the conclusion of these studies; and also to present it to the national committee for an appropriate entry at the time when his permit to pursue an activity as his main job is issued, or else withdrawn.

Tomas is then quoted as saying that it is the citizen's duty to present his identity document for the entry of a note about his partial legal disability, when he is summoned to do so by a district or city administration of the Public Security Corps on the basis of an appropriate court notification. If the court then decides to reverse its decision on the citizen's partial legal disability, the citizen has the right to request that he be issued a new identity document without the appropriate entry. The entries on legal disability are to be made in the "other entries" column on the last page of the document. This column is also designed to contain entries on a citizen's health data (such as his blood group and subgroup, diseases requiring emergency measures, and so forth).

According to Tomas, citizens departing for a lengthy stay abroad can hand over their identity document for safe keeping while they are abroad to the district or city administration of the Public Security Corps in the jurisdiction of their permanent domicile. The citizen is then issued a "freely formulated" confirmation that he has handed over his identity document, which he can take with him abroad; because, Tomas is said to point out, "certificates on handing over, on the loss or alienation of the identity document which are issued on the mandatory, numbered form may not be taken abroad, just as the identity document may not be taken abroad."

In conclusion Tomas is quoted as saying that it is the citizens' duty to present their identity document for entries of data on their own or adopted children under 15 years age; of data on their day studies at secondary schools or universities; and of data on their activities pursued as the main job with a permit from a national committee, by 31 December 1985 at the latest. The exchange of identity documents will be gradual, since the documents issued formerly, and still valid, will continue to be valid. Documents with a validity ending after 1 July 1985 will not be prolonged.

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15 July 1985

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG WEEKLY ON HONECKER'S SUCCESSION, KRENZ

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German Vol 40 No 20, 11 May 85 p 5

[Article by Juergen Engert, Berlin Bureau: "The Man Behind Honecker"]

[Text] The official parties in the countries "where socialism actually exists" are conservative clubs. The supreme requirement of established communism is the maintenance of power and the protection of power. The fear of change expresses itself conspicuously: the old men rule. As a rule, they are already well advanced in years when they are appointed to the conclave. And there the old become older together.

It is impossible to imagine a more comfortable old folks home than a Politburo. The old people do not have to play halma to fill their days there. They are not simply located in the center of things. They are the center. If they are not overcome by senility, they need have no fear of being sent away.

Certainly medical histories are becoming familiar to the Politburo in Moscow, even before Yuri Andropov and then Konstantin Chernenko became general secretary. Only the rapid succession of deaths provided Michail Gorbachev the opportunity for promotion since another "old man" with incalculable life expectancy would have jeopardized a regime which values continuity of personnel. For that matter, Gorbachev at 54 is no longer a youngster. When in doubt he will side with the assembled seniority in the Politburo and not be found among the young cadres of the party.

The selection of Gorbachev has led to speculation in the West that there might be a movement toward new blood in the rest of the Eastern bloc. These conjectures are entwining themselves especially around Erich Honecker. The source for this is located in East Berlin. And those who are letting it simmer are not friends of the SED general secretary. Because of his age, according to the rumors, Honecker will go to the 11th party congress in April 1986 with the idea of relinquishing his position of leadership in the party and limiting himself to the essentially representative office of Chairman of the Council of State.

Walter Ulbricht, Honecker's predecessor, at one time tailored this position for himself and made the committee the most significant central department in the apparatus of state. It was in fact Erich Honecker who clipped the wings of the Council of State after his takeover in 1971, although he took over the

chairmanship in order to be able to function also as the head of state of the GDR. As an organ of the sham parliament, the Volkskammer, also stocked with representatives of SED satellite parties, the Council of State has been window dressing ever since: it cannot exercise political power.

Now, it would be easy for Erich Honecker to follow Ulbricht's example and to endow the institution with new significance. But that would serve him neither personally nor materially as a trade-off for resignation as leader of the supreme decision making body of the GDR, the Politburo. Erich Honecker will absolutely never step down on his own and voluntarily. Being content with the role of "elder statesman"--still Chairman of the Council of State, but downgraded in the Politburo to a simple member--would equal disappearance into insignificance.

Honecker's Workload Has Constantly Increased

But Honecker wants power and he wants to hold on to it. He is also aware that it is not just the man who shapes the office, but that the office also shapes the man. His statement that in the Honecker family old age with good health is common has more than anecdotal reference. It is intended to also mean that the pilot will be on board for a long time yet.

The 72-year-old does not lack vitality. It permits him to cope with a workload which has constantly increased during the 14 years of his activity as SED chief. This is also a result of the greater influence which the GDR has achieved internationally. In the East, the second German nation has become the most important ally of the Soviet Union since Poland lost that position. In the West, the GDR is increasingly included in international activity.

A recent example: Erich Honecker visited Italy and the Pope, then flew to Poland to extend the Warsaw Pact for 30 years; and after exhausting celebrations of 1 May he was rendezvousing again with Michail Gorbachev.

How does a 72-year-old cope with such a load? The answer is universal for political leaders--regardless of the system: power is a stimulant. It transforms stress into pleasure and like all drugs has the effect that once one savors it, he can never again do without it.

The absolute power of a "number one" also includes promotion and demotion and finally the choice of a crown prince. There is no distinction here between Otto von Bismarck, Helmut Schmidt and Erich Honecker. One would like to confirm omnipotence one last time in the end, or at least attempt to confirm it. Passing the baton after making one's own selection is the desired goal. That requires preparation.

Honecker learned the procedure from Walter Ulbricht before he was allowed to succeed him in 1971 after 13 years of waiting and testing. Honecker became Ulbricht's crown prince because he promised to continue the policies of his guardian. He confirmed the promise during the time that he worked as Ulbricht's right hand without overstepping his jurisdiction or even questioning the authority of the SED chief. This example is of great value to Honecker and he has transmitted it to his favorite Egon Krenz.

The parallels in the Ulbricht-Honecker relationship and that of Honecker-Krenz are stunning. When Honecker became the leader of the GDR in 1971, this man born in 1912 embodied an intermediate generation. He was not one of the old communists, nor was he one of the "recently arrived pioneers," who only declared their belief in Marxist-Leninist ideology after 1945. Honecker was however respected by both groups. The former valued him because he had already fought for his convictions before 1933 and later suffered for them in a Nazi prison; he won over the second group, the young one, as leader of the communist association "Free German Youth" (FDJ).

The major cadre which runs the GDR today obligated Honecker to itself and he obligated it to him by means of virtuoso personnel policies. But now the SED general secretary is one of the old men. He no longer has a common ground with the younger generation of the party.

Egon Krenz Has Hardly Any Competition to Fear During His Probation

Egon Krenz can compensate for this deficiency. Krenz was born the son of a tailor in 1937 in Pomeranian Kohlberg. The phases of his career: from 1953 to 1957 teacher training, after the national examination, service in the GDR army; in 1959 full time FDJ official; from 1964 to 1967 studies at the party university of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, the basic prerequisite for anyone planning a career as a leader in the SED. As a member of the central council of the FDJ, Krenz first served as head of the children's organization "Young Pioneers," before becoming leader of the "Free German Youth" in 1974. In the party, he rose to full membership in the Politburo in 1983.

The election was accompanied by a demonstrative send off. Shortly thereafter Erich Honecker honored his "beloved Egon" with the Order of Karl Marx, the GDR's highest decoration. A quote from the head of the SED: "I do not need to tell you that this pleases me greatly." He nevertheless said it and praised Krenz for his "creative application of Marxism-Leninism."

Egon Krenz replaced the seriously ill Paul Verner as the central committee secretary for internal and external security--an area of responsibility which Erich Honecker had also been charged with under Walter Ulbricht and from which he organized the construction of the Berlin Wall on 13 August, 1961. Krenz walked step by step in the footprints of Erich Honecker. In order to expand the scope of activity of the crown prince, the SED chief also made him deputy chairman of the Council of State. Thus Krenz is able to represent the state internationally. The man who has the field marshal's baton in his knapsack is the youngest full member of the Politburo. Forty-eight years old on 19 March, he has hardly any competition to fear in his probationary period.

Egon Krenz stands out from his comrades in the body of leaders through a strength which is extremely rare in the SED hierarchy: he has a winning, extroverted nature. Introversion and formal barriers are not characteristic of him. The joviality which Krenz maintains cannot however conceal his firmness. The chin in his fleshy face reveals energy. It is said that he combines tactical and diplomatic skill with the ability to get things done. "He is capable of smiling and laughing like no one else among our comrades at the top. But he can also act while smiling and laughing."

Egon Krenz also outshines the other members of the Politburo thanks to his rhetorical talent. He is one of the few among the leaders who are masters at extemporaneous speech and who avoid party jargon at the same time. Like his teacher and role model Honecker, Krenz can also form a link between generations. He is old enough to understand and take care of the elders; he is young enough to pursue and to interpret up-and-coming attitudes.

As a balancing pole, Krenz makes use of the SED general secretary to whom he has devoted himself with unconditional loyalty. This balancing pole together with his special qualifications are the fundamental reasons that Egon Krenz is in high clover.

12666

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUBTERRANEAN CAVERNS TO BE LISTED, CLASSIFIED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 39 No 5, May 85 pp 200-202

[Article by Joachim Lehmann and author's collective: "New Legal Regulations: A Survey of Legislation in the First quarter of 1985"]

[Excerpt] To ensure comprehensive and effective utilization of subterranean caverns and guarantee safety in this field, the Decree on Subterranean Caverns of 17 January 1985 (GB1. I, No 5, p 57) and its implementing regulation of the same date (GB1. I, No 5, p 61) were issued. Closed mine structures are covered by this decree only if they are not earmarked for mining work. Otherwise they are subject to the regulations of the mining law of 12 May 1969 (GB1. I, No 5, p 29). According to the requirements of society and their suitability, subterranean caverns are to be put to a use or maintained for a future use.

As a prerequisite for a decision on the use of subterranean caverns, all subterranean caverns are listed and classified. In this connection, there is a duty of those responsible for subterranean caverns to report to the bezirk council. A central record on subterranean caverns is compiled by the Ministry for Geology. The bezirk council as a rule decides on the use of subterranean caverns so far not used. Changes in used and unused caverns which affect usability or access may be made only with authorization of the bezirk council.

To the extent that accesses to subterranean caverns are on land of other legal entities, owners or tenants, those responsible for subterranean caverns are authorized to make use of the land jointly on the basis of an agreement or, if no such agreement is achieved, by order of the kreis council. If necessary, the kreis council at the same time decides on kind and amount of indemnification for joint use.

The measures to guarantee cavern safety and public safety in principle correspond to those in mining. Used subterranean caverns and the mining work on and in subterranean caverns are subject to the state mining inspection by the Supreme Mining Authority and the GDR mining authorities. The head of the Supreme Mining Authority and the heads of the mining authorities are authorized to issue orders and directives to implement cavern safety and public safety, the mining inspectors may issue directives as a result of their controls.

No longer used subterranean caverns are to be kept safe according to the Directive on the Safekeeping of Subterranean Mining Installations--Safekeeping Directive--of 19 October 1971 (GB1. II, No 73, p 621). Insofar as local councils are responsible for tasks in and on subterranean caverns, financing of the required measures is chargeable to the state budget.

The decree includes administrative penalty provisions for violations of expressly assigned duties and of instructions and directives of the managers and inspectors of the mining authorities and of orders of the bezirk councils.

Administrative penalties are also provided for unauthorized entry of subterranean caverns and of the surface areas of subterranean caverns and for damaging and removing of "no trespassing" signs; warnings with fines are provided for minor violations.

12356

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HUNGARY

TRIALS, TRIBULATIONS ELIMINATE SUCCESSFUL ENTREPRENEUR

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Apr 85

[Article by Aniko Antal: "What Will Become of You, Magony Ranch: Grave Marker or New Signboard?"]

[Text] "Janos Magony? [I will not utter] a single sentence, except in the presence of my lawyer!"

The face of each person present breaks into a wry smile. With splendid histrionic flair, megye council attorney Dr Lajos Jobbagy intended the foregoing words to create a certain kind of situational mood. The smile bears witness to the witty conversational episode, the wryness to the fact that the humorous remark is not without foundation.

Janos Magony's name is known to every lawyer, financial, commercial, social and economic leader in Bacs-Kiskun. If this name turns up in a document, a cold shiver runs down the spine of the official in charge--without knowing the content. Janos Magony, namely, provided the bureaus with a ton of work. To a lesser degree, through no fault of his own. In our postliberation homeland, there is no precedent for the artistic form which he created. With his own money, the professional boardinghouse keeper and proprietor of a tourist ranch ran an elementary school and a university of private hostelry. Yet in the meantime he also provided every concerned and responsible forum with instruction: how must one--and in what way is it not permitted to--perform the official/administrative tasks in connection with this.

It could be written on his calling card: daredevil and perpetual defendant. His original occupation is that of certified stock breeder, but he could tackle the province of expert in legal stratagems. He is still not 40 years old, but he has several lifetimes of events behind him. He has never been seen dressed in anything except jackboots, dungarees and a linen shirt. With his ruddy beard and lumberjack's build, he reminds you most of an Irish settler, and his demeanor is a mixture of cosmopolite and barroom brawler. He speaks German fluently, and his Hungarian is plainspoken to the point of rudeness. He has been married four times, has five children and oceans of ideas. The only thing more abundant than the latter is the tenacity with which he routinely uses his soaring creative spirit to carry out one task after the other.

Janos Magony is a phenomenon--and a syndrome. His name is a trademark in the tourist world of Western Europe; it stands for a guaranteed standard and honest service. The history of this "trade name" is remarkably instructive, and indeed there is a lot in it worth teaching.

They Paid for the "Trade Name"

A gaudy red-and-white advertisement on the way from Kecskemet to Fulophaza: Turn here for the Magony Ranch. That is to say, the former Magony Ranch. Or rather that is what it is called now, too, although Janos Magony no longer has anything to do with it. In June of last year he sold out to his former business partner, the tourist bureau of Bacs-Kiskun megye.

"Amen," said those who were well-informed, as they buried the inn.

"Not so fast. Why would the bureau have obtained it if it was not a good business?" ask the rooters on the other side.

Now a grave marker or an old signboard--with a new owner?

"Why did you want this ranch?" I asked Istvan Kovacs, the bureau director.

"Because it is an established and profitable tourist attraction, and we could not abandon it to a dubious fate."

The "attraction" is a brown, white and geranium-red manor from 1803 which has been equipped with 20th century amenities. The romanticism of the Hungarian steppe sand dunes was retained: placed in the stables are well-groomed horses coolly bearing clumsy tourists and obedient to words whispered in their ears and to the quiver of the bridle; a tureen full to overflowing with peasant chicken broth is set before the guests. Here there is a sauna, tennis court, swimming pool, 20 guest rooms comfortably furnished and a sitting room covered with animal skins, wood and marble. Since 1979, horses and equestrians have paraded here for a yearly average of 10,000 guests, who pay with hard currency; that many of them have spread the word of the memory--to be preserved--of the Magony Ranch's cooking and atmosphere.

"Are the tourists unaware of the change in owners?"

"We paid for use of the name in the purchase price. Under the terms of our agreement, no establishment for the entertainment of tourists can open under the Magony name for 7 years in this megye. In the meantime, our own circle of patrons will grow, and the Magony name will bring in customers."

"And overhead, profits? Earlier, half as many people ran the business."

"We are a state enterprise and cannot pay as much as one in the private sector. The conditions are also different in terms of labor laws. A Magony employee was a waiter, handmaid, cook, stable boy, horse trainer, cleaner, purchaser of materials, and bricklayer all rolled up into one. It cannot be done that way with us. And add to it that a private entrepreneur has greater freedom to seek

the way in which to obtain his customers' favor--our possibilities for this are more limited. Our two hotels, two campgrounds and five branch offices, which do a 70 million forint business, can have collective expenses of 1,700 [sic] forints a year."

"Then it is possible that what was a lucrative business as a private enterprise--an annual income of 4.5 million--now..."

"Let us return to the second half of the sentence in a few months, okay?"

This conversation took place 8 months ago. Today, 18 April 1985, I received the following information: patronage is identical with what it was before (largely through the already established programs, it is true), and last year closed with modest gains (to be sure, investments in maintenance ate into the profits).

In Defense of the Legal Paragraphs

"But why did the original owner part company with the ranch/inn?"

"Because I was fed up with always having to assert that I was not a scoundrel, robber and crook."

"You are exaggerating, are you not? Did the bureau keep finding fault perhaps? Did the authority conform to the rules?"

"Yes, I received well-intentioned encouragement. But I was involved in so many deliberately obscure things that I was forced to grow thorns. Of course, they stuck fast in me more easily, and I often stung. When I said that I wanted to open an inn on a forsaken ranch, people looked at me as if I were crazy. There had never before been such a thing in the country, much less in the megye, and there were no established procedures, no statutory provisions ready for it. I caused problems and rubbed people the wrong way. Sometimes I did things brusquely because otherwise I would have made no headway. Eventually, no one crossed his legs without my being able to step over them, but I cannot claim that doors were opened for me, that people said, 'Please come in, we are happy that you are bringing millions into the megye, you are earning currency for the national economy, you are giving this region a good reputation, so how, of course, can we help, how can we be of service?'"

Endre Letanoczki, deputy director of the megye council's commercial division, says this about it:

"There is no question that Janos Magony's application was surprising. It is also true that he caused a lot more problems than if he had asked for a license to open a variety store. But his concept dovetailed with the economic policy concept then emerging, and that is why we gladly accepted it. Only, well... there is something in his methods which brings him into conflict with the bureaus."

"Does he follow illegal tracks?"

"That would be an oversimplification. He does things within the protection of the legal paragraphs which no state institution can support."

"Then why has he not been convicted?"

"Well, that's just it. He is a permanent client in the courts, always as a defendant, but in the last analysis he wins. My colleague in tax matters can provide a few concrete examples."

Compulsory Creditor: the State

Sandor Somodi, the official in charge of tax matters, places a stack of documents in front of me.

"Janos Magony borrowed money regularly..."

"But that is not illegal!"

"...from the state in such a way that he was continually in arrears with his taxes. This was treated as an extraordinary advantage; nowhere can he get a loan at such an interest rate. He has to pay altogether an extra 1 percent monthly on what is owed in back taxes. And after he had paid several hundred thousand forints in taxes, he extracted considerable advantage for himself. Before implementation has taken place, he always put his accounts in order, but he has hereby given us a tremendous amount of work over the years. No matter how beneficial and pioneering the activity of Janos Magony is, the adjective 'aboveboard' can hardly be attributed to his financial affairs. And yet this is part of a businessman's good reputation. Loans of a few hundred forints and private loans of millions of forints are paid off only after lengthy administrative and judicial delays. It is true that litigation costs and interest burden such delays, but this is still 'more economical' than the official, legal interest."

I repeated to him what I had recently been told. "I heard some rotten things about you."

"To make matters worse, they are literally true. But I had no alternative. He who launches a serious enterprise in Hungary today either has high-quality gray matter or Croesus for an uncle. I had no uncle, only a small inheritance from my parents, I earned quite a bit by fattening bulls, then I tried my luck with the state banking institutions to see if they would increase my credit. I received 60,000 forints. The rest from private individuals, at usurious interest rates. I worked on the ranch for 5 years, 24 hours a day, I did not take a penny out of it previously, all I did was build and expand. Everyone who did business with me enjoyed the profits, but I received no financial support. What I attained was taken away from me. At best, the financiers will never give me a prize for sportsmanship."

Perpetual Defendant

"Why did you finally sell the ranch and turn in your private businessman's license?"

"You know that the Magony Ranch is already 'established,' I no longer had much to do here. But I always have to be creating, investigating, discovering, accomplishing something, proving that it was a good idea, in short, some kind of insatiable thirst for success keeps me moving at all times. So I rented a run-down manor house from a producer cooperative and set to work on renovating and modernizing it--I wanted to make it into a 20-room inn with a dining room, stables, sauna, tennis court--for guests with hard currency. But I had limited money for it, and I applied for a business loan of 2 million forints. Out of this came a contract for 1 million. I signed it so that I would get the million, the National Savings Bank had me pay a processing fee of 1,000 forints--but I did not receive the money. Several hours a day for a week I cooled my heels in the waiting rooms of various offices, I commuted between Fulophaza and Budapest, they kept on imposing new conditions. Do you understand? For the actual payment of 1 million forints already paid on paper. Well, I had had it up to here with everything, so I canceled the loan and advertised the Magony Ranch for sale."

"Then?"

"I joined a producer cooperative as a tourist trade branch organizer."

"And the manor house renovation you had embarked on?"

"In the meantime, the producer cooperative took me to court for nonpayment of rent..."

"Good grief, another lawsuit, Janos Magony?"

"It turned out that they had asked for an illegal price in the contract, 200,000 forints a year for 20 years, although no more than a tenth of that is lawful. So now we either sign a new contract or part company."

"But you signed that contract voluntarily, illegal price or no illegal price. You can emerge from this business only with a profit..."

"Look, a few years ago I did something stupid, because of which I got punched in the nose. Since then, I have done nothing which is punishable. But if matters can be worked out to my advantage--even on the razor's edge of legality--well, I am not my own enemy. Do you blame me for that?"

Useful, But Not This Pattern

I do not sit in judgment. Rather I reflect on Janos Magony and others like him. Should we be glad that this country has such creative, enterprising, intelligent citizens, always on the go and blessed with talent and vigor?

Of course we should be glad, because this is something of value. The only problem is when such persons become "unmanageable" for the fun of it or due to lax game rules. But because it is possible to use nuclear fission against Hiroshima and Paks, should we be deprived of Paks on account of Hiroshima? Why would it not be possible to direct that energy--which Janos Magony can

skillfully utilize for his own well-being and the benefit of the community--onto a path where it could be softened into resourcefulness?

I protest against lawful encouragement, not against powerful restraints on unmanageable people. Why should it not be possible--instead of the fetters of bureaucracy, envy and obtuseness--for the office to support and for the bank to finance and supervise that which encourages entrepreneurship?

"And now? What lies ahead, Janos Magony?"

"I was the first in this artistic form, and I was pretty much alone. Many people are now following in my footsteps, and the economic circumstances are growing more refined. I cannot bear much longer this doing things halfway..."

12327

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15 July 1985

POLAND

URBAN ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AS ESPIONAGE AGENTS

AU231717 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 May 85 p 6

["Transcript" of press conference given by government spokesman Jerzy Urban to foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 14 May]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Kevin Ruane, BBC: When listening to Minister Kiszczak's recent speech [in Sejm on 10 May], I was astonished at his statement that foreign journalists engage in subversive activities. Could you expatiate on this? Was Minister Kiszczak really serious?

Urban: He was most serious. Whatever the minister of internal affairs said in the Sejm was serious and very serious.

In recent times we have registered certain elements of espionage in the activities of the permanent and visiting Western correspondents. These elements are still present. In December 1982 we asked John Berg, ABC, and in January 1983 Mrs Ruth Gruber to leave Poland. Since then the Western journalists have seemed to display perhaps more caution, but some of them have continued to implement espionage-like tasks, especially in the military field. The convergence between the interests of some journalists and of the military attaches of the main NATO countries is symptomatic. For example, on 14 March of this year a Western television team took pictures of a section of our state border with the USSR around Wlodawa. Similar actions have been noted with regard to other military issues. Last February two Western journalists were detained because they took pictures of a military convoy in the area of Boleslawiec. A few days earlier the same journalists took pictures of some sectors of our border with the GDR.

Intelligence carried out during supposed routine journalist duties is a separate problem. The signals sent in by our citizens to the appropriate authorities indicate that the various questions asked of our citizens by Western journalists point to typically spying intentions. Aside from this, capitalist journalists continue to inspire and render propaganda support to the underground activities in Poland. They act as intermediaries in bringing into Poland equipment, money, and illegal literature printed in the West for the illegal structures in our country.

A large percentage of the capitalist journalists accredited in Poland continue to maintain lively working contacts with the leading oppositionists and to transmit to the West information and instructions, which the hostile centers and radio

stations use for their propaganda. This results in many radio programs about the dates and sites at which illegal actions should take place, about the allegedly extensive support of our people for the underground, and so on and so forth.

Let me cite a specific example. On 6 April Radio Free Europe beamed a program calling for demonstrations on 12 May. It did it in the form of the following announcement: "Next Sunday, 12 May, peasants from all over Poland will hold a rally in Warsaw." Further: "We will gather around the grave of our martyr Father Jerzy Popieluszko in the Stanislaw Kostka church in Zoliborz, Warsaw, at 1230 on 12 May." Asserting that the broadcast information was supplied by the organizers of these rallies, Radio Free Europe said that several hundred thousands of peasants from all over Poland were expected in Warsaw on 12 May! It added that on the same day a mass would be celebrated to mark the 50th anniversary of Jezef Pilsudski's death and that whoever wanted to attend this mass would also be able to be on time at the Stanislaw Kostka church in Zoliborz to attend a mass there.

What are these announcements?

Seemingly they are just the information about the plans of the alleged organizers of those functions. However, in reality they are strict instructions as to where people are to gather and an encouragement for people to gather. That is why they speak of hundreds of thousands of arrivals in Warsaw. They also instruct people to march across the city, but instead of asking them to invade the streets, they merely ask them to march from one church to another, thus indirectly organizing street demonstrations, describing how to get there, and so on. I call it phony information. After all, this is no information about the facts. This is creating the facts. Some Western journalists transmit such information intended to enable Radio Free Europe to launch organizational activities, as if it were ordinary journalist information.

At the same time, the events in Poland continue to be mendaciously reported in that the numbers of people participating in illegal demonstrations are exaggerated and the order-keeping forces are presented as brutal and sent out into the streets in large numbers. I have often given examples of such reporting. In line with their instructions, the capitalist journalists try to penetrate the places in which public order may be threatened. They focus their cameras on the sites of militia deployment and actions. On 1 and 3 May, 10 capitalist journalists were detained throughout the country. A similar group of Polish citizens employed by these journalists was also detained in connection with trying to find out where the militia would be deployed. In the 80's, almost 70 representatives of the Western mass media have been asked to leave Poland mainly for these reasons. Most of these people had come to Poland as tourists, but they engaged in activities that have nothing to do with tourism.

These are only some features of the Western journalists' activities in our country. General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, also discussed this problem in a rather abbreviated manner, but he made it clear to the so-called home opposition, its Western patrons, and those who act as go-betweens that the Ministry of Internal Affairs has important evidence in this connection.

Donald Forbes, Reuter: Minister, could you identify the two Western journalists who allegedly took pictures of military areas or military activities last February? Could you tell us why no legal action was taken against them so that the matter could be dealt with openly instead of by way of allusions?

Urban: I will not disclose their names at present because we do not want to bring this matter to a head. This is nothing new. You seem to regard it in such a way as if you were bent on having these two journalists taken to book. Please rest assured that I did not tell some mysterious fairy tales. I spoke of the facts based on accurate and solid evidence.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

MILITARY OFFICERS COMMENT ON THEIR DUTIES AS GOVERNORS

Tarnobrzeg Province

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Captain Adam Skowronski: "A Day with the Governor"]

[Text] At that time -- when the office of governor of Tarnobrzeg became vacant -- for nearly half a year no one was willing to take this "attractive job." After all, one can hardly be surprised -- who would want to govern three fragments of the territory of the previous provinces, and furthermore ones not too rich in heavy industry? Only problems, and not much splendor...

The office of the governor was thus taken over by the KOK [National Defense Committee] commissioner at that time, Colonel Boleslaw Jazwiec. He already knew fairly well the problems of the young province, and its administrative system; he knew the employees of the governor's office, and he was not afraid of the work. Did he cope with these new obligations, not customary for a professional soldier?

Tuesdays Only for Business Callers

I arrived at the governor's office on Tuesday, the day on which each week the governor, the deputy governors, the directors of the departments of the governor's office, and their deputies receive business callers from 9:00 to 16:00.

For the governor, this day began even earlier, since as early as 6:00 he had an appointment to talk with two village administrators, because soon heavy industry and enterprises beginning road construction were to enter their areas. Later there was a meeting of the WRN [Provincial People's Council] presidium on the subject of housing construction, the time for business callers, and preparations for a personnel inspection on the following day.

Thus, the governor's work day often lasts considerably longer than a mere 12 hours -- and not just on Tuesdays. This observation is confirmed by two secretaries, who work in two shifts during this same time, although there is one governor.

"I am not alone, however," the governor says, "since the art of management does not consist of either replacing oneself with others, or taking upon oneself excessive obligations, but rather of assigning tasks properly. That is what I learned in the army, and this skill is currently paying off in my civilian job. Nevertheless, in spite of this the governor's office requires a work day somewhat longer than 8 hours. After all, I not only have to manage the office, but I also have to know the problems of the residents of the province. It is this purpose which is served by the complicated system of social consultations, one of the elements of which is the Tuesday receptions of business callers at all organs of the province's state administration."

These meetings are supplemented by the governor's constant contacts with the village administrators and mayors, inspections of the local organs of the state administration, consultations with PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activists, and an extensive information system organized by the PZPR Provincial Committee, and the "Citizens' Forums" conducted since 1983. These forums, as well as the inspections, are usually organized in the places from which most callers come to the governor's office on Tuesdays. That is a signal that something bad is happening, and the reason has to be found quickly. Then an early inspection of the activities of the local office is preceded by a meeting with the residents of the city or village. These are the "Citizens' Forums," which begin about 17:00 and often last until 22:00 or later. Their outcome is always interesting.

Not just complaints are submitted, but also proposals serving all the citizens.

Isn't it possible to straighten out these problems at the city offices and the village administrators' offices? Not all of them. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the number of callers at the governor's office on Tuesdays. Last year, for example, the governor and his deputies received 767 callers, and the rest of their coworkers received over 3,000. Generally the number of complaints is not as high as it formerly was. Last year only 847 complaints were submitted to all the offices subordinate to the WRN of Tarnobrzeg Province. They mainly dealt with the activities of construction superintendents, land management, social welfare activities, the distribution of agricultural equipment and machinery, and communal economy. Last year the local offices received a total of 22,313 callers on Tuesdays.

But what are the residents of the province like? Do they only wait for intervention and assistance? After all, some problems cannot be solved without their participation.

"The residents of our province," Colonel Jazwiec answered, "are very active, since they see the concrete goal of their activities. For example, there are districts in which for each resident several thousand zlotys are spent on social action, but unfortunately there are also some where one could not count up to a hundred zlotys..."

Most of the hours of work on society's behalf are spent by farmers, especially in building roads, health centers, fire stations, cultural houses, and schools.

Social activity is also demonstrated by the participation of many citizens in social organizations, the PZPR, the ZSL [United Peasant Party], and PRON, and by the fact that there have been no "repetitions" in the elections for the people's councils. Recently there has been an increase in the activity of the village and settlement self-government bodies.

The Most Difficult Problems

From the beginning, administrative personnel were the most difficult problem. Now things have changed. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that a GIT has not discharged anyone from the positions they hold. In fact, different punishments have been imposed on 14 workers, but on the other hand 58 have been proposed for awards.

Currently, the greatest problem is the housing economy and environmental protection -- especially of the rivers. In this case, however, the question is not new construction, but rather repairing the old buildings. In the 1970's, it was forgotten that these were durable property of considerable value, which had to be cared for, and now it is difficult to make up for the delays. In the second place, repair enterprises, from the standpoint of jobs, are not very competitive with large-scale industry. Financial obstacles are associated with a shortage of workers, which gives rise to enormous difficulties in solving the above problems.

The next vital shortcoming in Tarnobrzeg Province is water pollution. Of the 740 kilometers of rivers studied, 55.9 percent are considered outside the classes, 28.6 percent in class 3, 15.5 percent in class 2, and none in the first class. As can be seen from this, there are also problems with drinking water and purification plants. The greatest satisfaction for the governor is the assertion that the water leaving the province is not dirtier than the water entering it. This situation is due to concern for the existing sewer purification plants, their modernization -- combining mechanical purification plants with biological ones -- and the construction of new purification plants, especially in the cities and large villages.

The problem of air pollution is not as catastrophic. This situation has been achieved by installing the most modern filters at industrial plants. Similarly, the soil is restored after sulfur deposits are mined.

The next problem -- the one with which the governor deals most often -- is agriculture. Even though Tarnobrzeg province is in 17th place from the standpoint of the quality of its soil, it is in the bottom 10th, however, in production sold. There are actually several farms whose production is among the best in the country, but those with low or medium productivity are in the majority. This is a result of the large number of private farms with areas of 2-3 hectares.

Thus, the problems are different from those encountered in the army. Aren't the skills acquired during army service useful, however? The governor thinks that everything that he is doing now he is basing upon his earlier experience and command training. And the results must be considered interesting.

In Service for Society

"Many years of army service," the governor emphasizes, "and its specific nature cause the formation in a professional soldier of personal characteristics that are not just useful in the unit. He learns to be systematic, consistent, and demanding, to have self-control, to make plans, and to control his subordinates. An officer possessing these characteristics can use them in a new job. Taking a new job in a complicated sociopolitical and economic situation, I was in a difficult spot. I asked myself a question -- would I cope with these obligations?"

"As the point of departure in my activities, I took basic principles from the theory of organization and management: planning, making assignments, and monitoring their realization. The army taught me this work cycle. There I also learned to make use of assistance from social organizations and to manage the activity of coworkers. Without these skills, I would not only feel alone, I would really be alone, with that large number of tasks associated with the job.

"I also received training during my army service. Not just in leadership, but also in management," the governor adds, "learning administrative law at the University of Warsaw and completing a 2-year course in planning and supply, not counting numerous other courses. This knowledge is useful both in the army and in civilian life, as I have persuaded myself more than once. It also gives one the courage to assume responsibility for difficult decisions and makes it possible to carry them out effectively."

Twilight falls. All that is left is reporting on the results of today's day set aside for callers, and preparing for the next workday. The governor himself that his daughter, who came for a visit, is waiting for him at home. In the press of business, one can forget about family obligations. The most important thing is that work providing visible results brings great satisfaction.

Gdansk Province

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4-5 May 85 p 3

[Interview with Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Cygan, Gdansk governor, by Stanislaw Goszczurny: "It Was a Tremendous Thing..."]

[Text] Forty years ago, the Gdansk region obtained its freedom. The dreams of the people of Kaszub and Kociewo, stubbornly resisting Germanization, were fulfilled; Gdansk itself, after years of separation, returned to the motherland. The blood of the Soviet soldiers led by Marshal Konstant Rokossovski and of the Poles from the Westerplatte Heroes Tank Brigade closed the old period of history, full of battle, and opened a new page in history for the coast. A journalist from RZECZPOSPOLITA discusses history and the present day with the governor of Gdansk, Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Cygan.

[Question] Governor, the history of the battles for the liberation of the Gdansk Coast is well known, and many of the participants in that armed operation are still living, as well as the pioneers who began working here 40 years ago. Thus, we can perhaps dwell on closer matters. What is the coast like today? What are the main problems? What has been done, and what remains to be done?

[Answer] These few questions deal with subjects that would be enough for several interviews.

[Question] Then perhaps a personal reflection to start with?

[Answer] Well, the 3 years that I have been working here in the post of governor are not a very long period; they are enough, however, for certain reflections and conclusions, especially since the period when I moved here was special, and thus my task was also special. The main thing was to ensure that people had a normal existence and working conditions, and to introduce law and order. On the other hand, economic matters -- although the shelves were empty -- became secondary. In particular, I wanted to devote a great deal of attention to young people. After all, this was a result of my experiences. It is said that the army is a school for educating citizens. That is not a slogan, but the truth, resulting from the fact that a commander in the army has to deal with young people. He tries to create and form characteristics in them such as duty, responsibility, persistence, endurance, decisiveness, patriotism, fitness, etc. I have had to deal with this since 1943, and so the task of which I spoke was particularly close to me -- and thus acting so that there would be law and order and so that young people would not go any further along the wrong road. That was the first thing...

[Question] After 3 years, can you speak of results in this area?

[Answer] I think so. Obviously, this process is continuing, and there is a great deal to do, but I can say that there are positive symptoms. It seems that an ambition is reviving here to show all of Poland what the coast is really like -- attractive, beautiful, important. Perhaps there is a revival of pride in being a resident of this area, which is so important and attractive for the country. And the business of law and order? After all the results there are apparent, as they are in any case throughout the country. Although I would be too much of an optimist if I said that everything was already splendid and we had the situation completely clear, lucid, without upheavals occurring from time to time...

[Question] But we do know what the role of the Gdansk Coast was like in the events of recent years, and what kind of influence it had on the country...

[Answer] I cannot accept without resistance the theses put forward here and there that conditions here are particularly conducive to crises. After all, one can cite examples of crises in Poland taking place in other cities as well, for instance in 1956. It is true that the "window on the world," more frequent contacts with foreigners, and stronger Western influences all have a certain effect, and to some extent lead people away from our ideals.

Nevertheless, I think that these are conditions that generate crime, instead of constituting a particular stimulus for crises. Smuggling, trading in foreign exchange, prostitution -- these are results of this port and sea contact. In spite of everything, however, these determining factors exist, and consequently they must be taken into account in working with society, but I do not think that due to this the coast has been in some special way predestined for rebellions.

[Question] You have brought up an extensive problem, but one that deviates a little from our subject.

[Answer] No, because if we look at the coast that way, then we will see that it is an important, beautiful area that has a high income, and self-sacrificing people who make an important contribution to the total income of the country. Besides, this has to be seen in the panorama of our 40 years. It is often said that the 1970-1980 decade was a period of the "propaganda of success." What was propaganda was propaganda, and what was success was success. Here that can be seen particularly clearly. Let us take the rebuilding of Old Gdansk. After all, this was a large matter! There were ideas of leaving the ruins as a memorial of the war and the Hitler barbarism. But then it would be necessary to leave the entire city. It was rebuilt, however.

[Question] Yes, but you are talking about an earlier period. The rebuilding of Old Gdansk was in the 1950's.

[Answer] There has been no lack of great achievements here through the entire 40 years. When I look at what is here, I am overcome with admiration for my predecessors. So many farsighted decisions have been made! So much has been done here! They can be cited in one breath: the rebuilding of the maritime and fishing fleet, the building of the North Port, the building of the refinery, Siarkopol, the Phosphorus Works, the container terminal, the rebuilding of the shipyards and then their expansion and modernization -- all of this was built earlier, but many of the decisions were made during this "decade of the propaganda of success."

[Question] One cannot deny that the coast has an enormous income, but at the same time in other areas it is difficult to speak of successes. For instance, environmental production...

[Answer] I agree, one cannot deny that a great deal remains to be done in this area. But at the same time, this issue should be examined soberly and objectively. Alarm is proper, but the history is unnecessary. Until 1970, in the territory of Gdansk Province we had about 10 major sewer purification plants. In that decade, their number doubled. That is not much, I agree, but one cannot say that industry has developed but nothing has been done for the environment. During the same period, construction began on three more communal purification plants for the Tri-City area [Gdynia, Sopot, and Gdansk] and the towns above Zatoka Pucka (Gdansk-Wschod, Gdynia-Debogorze, and Swarzewo), not to mention the smaller ones, as in Kartuzy, Choczewo, and Starogard. These investments are continuing, and are close to completion. But after all, the decision was made and the construction was begun earlier. In the 1970's!

[Question] They were not given priority, however, and the construction has lasted for a very long time...

[Answer] Today, when we say that we have been building for a long time, we are neglecting an important fact. We are treating the years 1981-1982 as a normal working period. But after all, it was a period of anarchy, an obstruction of the course of normal completion, and it thus constitutes a gap, which certainly increased the delays, if it did not cause them.

Our activities are aimed at rebuilding the attractiveness of this region both as a place to live for millions of people, and as a vacation place for people from the entire country. It is true that we have a great deal to do in this area. But few people know that our province has 34 percent of the rivers considered to be of class I chemical purity, and 90 percent of the lakes in purity classes I and II. Obviously, there are ruined ones, like Lake Klasztorne near Kartuzy, but we are trying to restore their purity and a great deal is being done for this purpose.

[Question] Environmental protection on the coast is only one problem -- an important one, felt by the entire country, but not the only one...

[Answer] Obviously. We have others. In general, there is a great deal to do. It is well known that the large Tri-City area, which has an enormous maritime and industrial potential, is suffering from a shortage of shops, schools, preschools, nurseries, and doctors, and in general, that the city economy has lagged behind large-scale industry and the maritime economy. I am saying "city economy" and not "communal" specifically, since that is even further behind.

[Question] What kind of remedy do you see for this?

[Answer] We are looking for a way to link this region with the maritime economy, so that the cities could really live on this and enrich themselves from it. Still, however, the city goes one way and the maritime economy and industry go another. Perhaps this is a paradox, but today in a sense our plan for the development of the maritime economy is "distressing," since it is causing certain difficulties for the city. Immediately there is a need for more housing, shops, and schools; it is necessary to provide recreation, hospital beds, etc., etc. Who is going to provide this? The city.

There is one way to do this. It is necessary to persuade the maritime economy -- the shipyards, the commercial fleet, fishing, the ports, etc. -- that its development plans have to be closely linked to the development plans of the Tri-City. The seas have to contribute to order, to the city. In Leningrad, if an enterprise wants to develop, its plan has to take into account the construction of housing for its workforce, and besides that 10 percent for the combatants and 10 percent for the city. For the city means that doctors, teachers, businessmen, artists, waiters, etc., since they have to live there and work for the sea people, have to reside there. We still have not prepared such plans, but if development is to be harmonious, and the city is not to fall behind the requirements of the sea, then it is

necessary to institute this system. As early as the central plans, and the assumptions for the construction or expansion of enterprises. There is no other way. Now our maritime enterprises are instead limiting themselves to initiatives. That is too little. We need implementation, funds, joint efforts.

[Question] Governor, although we are speaking on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, this has not been a balance, a summary, but even more, this has not been a congratulation. Consequently, how would you like to end this interview?

[Answer] When the Main Local Inspectorate [GIT] ended its work here and gave us a good evaluation, I realized that it was not grounds for pride or self-satisfaction. I simply think that there is more for us to do, in every respect. The 40 years have not been wasted, but there is a great deal to be done. After all, this region deserves its high rank. In the place where I was brought up and where I studied as a child, the battle of the people of Kaszub was compared to the Silesian uprisings and the Drzymala cart. There are thus beautiful traditions. There is a need for poets to celebrate this region, its history, its heroic period after the war, and the efforts of the present day. The conditions for normal work have arisen and are being consolidated: lawfulness, peace, order. But people not throwing stones is too little. It is necessary to fulfill these conditions with substance, to ensure that work provides satisfaction, the joy of creativity, pride in one's achievements, and obviously material satisfaction.

During the days of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, it is particularly proper to recall this.

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POLAND

PZPR ON IMPLEMENTATIONS OF PLENUM RESOLUTION

AU310956 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 8 May 85 pp 7, 8

["Decisions of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Concerning the Further Implementation of the Timetable for Implementing the Resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] The Politburo acquainted itself with the current performance of the "timetable for performing the tasks of party cells and organizations stemming from the Politburo report and resolution of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum," of 27 July 1982. The basis for assessment comprised the results of checks carried out by the PZPR Central Auditing Commission together with the Central Committee Youth Commission on 46 voivodship committees, 567 primary party cells, and 1,810 factory and primary party committees. [passage omitted]

The Politburo will oblige the Central Committee secretariat to draw practical conclusions from the controls that have been carried out, including the cadre reviews, to increase supervision over the implementation of the Ninth Plenum Resolution, and initiate activity within individual Central Committee departments in order to accelerate this implementation.

The Politburo will also oblige the Central Committee secretariat to adopt programmatic-organizational guidelines and hold conferences in June in factories, institutions, and social organizations on the subject of the implementation so far of the resolution and tasks of the Ninth Plenum. Following these conferences, it is necessary to adopt, with the participation of the party, youth, self-management, and trade union activists, work plans containing feasible ways of animating production; ideological and educational work; cadre policy; and cultural, sporting, and tourist activity among young people.

The decisions adopted should aim to establish tasks for young people themselves as well as for sociopolitical organizations and the administration, and determine at the same time the costs and sources of finance of planned undertakings. Assigning to young people particularly important spheres of work (departments, brigades, and so on) at which they might display responsibility, ideas, and creative initiative should be regarded as an important task.

The Central Committee secretariat will also be obliged to initiate a long-term and integrated system of ideological-political work with educators of young

people (teachers, factory foremen, counselors in youth circles, journalists, writers, and so on). This system should establish tasks for the party, state and economic administration, as well as the implementation stages and forms of control over the adopted decisions.

The Central Committee secretariat will establish tasks for the mass media concerning the systematic propagation of the contents and results of the Ninth Plenum, portraying people who are devoted to the implementation of the plenum's decisions, publicizing positive examples, and also revealing shortcomings and obstacles during the implementation of the plenum decisions.

During the preparations for the 20th Central Committee Plenum, the Central Committee secretariat is also obliged to take into account problems of work with young people, this being an important area of party organizational activity.
[passage omitted]

Warsaw, 23 April 1985

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

PLENUM STATEMENT ON WARSAW PACT ANNIVERSARY

AU221141 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 85 p 1

["Statement Adopted by the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on the 30th Anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty"--Issued in Warsaw on 14 May 1985]

[Text] The Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was signed by the European socialist countries in Warsaw 30 years ago.

The Warsaw treaty was signed in a situation in which imperialism intensified its peace-endangering actions against the socialist countries, the postwar order of peace in Europe, and the territorial integrity of the socialist countries, including Poland. The inclusion of the remilitarized FRG in the NATO aggressive bloc was a particular expression of those actions.

Taking the necessary measures to strengthen its defense and to ensure conditions for their peoples' peaceful work, the Warsaw treaty countries continued their consistent efforts to eliminate aggression and the threat of force and to promote disarmament, peaceful coexistence of countries with different sociopolitical systems, and the settlement of disputed problems by peaceful means only. The struggle waged by the USSR and other socialist countries of the Warsaw treaty to prevent a nuclear war, to promote total disarmament, and to destroy all weapons of mass annihilation should be stressed.

The PZPR Central Committee states that the defense alliance of the socialist countries has correctly played its role all throughout the past 30 years. The Warsaw treaty has effectively ensured the security and inviolability of the orders of Poland and all the allied countries and has provided a reliable shield for the achievements of socialist construction and for the peaceful life and work of the peoples in our community. It was and is the guarantee of the unshakable character of the Yalta-Potsdam Territorial-Political Order in Europe and of the fruits of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. It is an important factor in maintaining peace in Europe and the world.

Poland's historical experience and the appraisal of the past few decades and of the present international situation make it clear that the Warsaw treaty and its impact in the past 30 years have been and are consistent with the PPR's most vital interests.

Our socialist countries solemnly celebrated the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over German fascism. We stressed the [?] experience our peoples had gained during the war and we paid homage to millions and millions of men and women who had perished in the struggle for freedom and the postwar order of peace. Let us recall that this anniversary means that Europe has lived in peace for 40 years and that the Warsaw treaty has played an enormous role in this regard.

The PZPR Central Committee states that the prolongation of the Warsaw treaty during the 26 April Warsaw meeting of the leaderships of the Warsaw treaty parties and countries serves the cause of peace, European security, and Polish borders and helps to strengthen the allied cooperation and unity of the countries and states of the socialist community.

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POLAND

JARUZELSKI'S CLOSING SPEECH AT PZPR PLENUM

AU211511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 May 85 p 3

[Closing speech by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 19th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 15 May]

[Text] Comrades and esteemed guests at the 19th Plenum: The published materials, the Politburo report, and the highly interesting and rich discussion contain a wealth of assessments and conclusions. Therefore it is difficult to sum them up while they are "still fresh," as it were. Any attempt to do so would inevitably be superficial. The decision adopted at today's plenum not to dissolve the Resolutions and Motions Commissions until the final results of today's work have been examined, permits me to limit myself solely to reflection and a kind of commentary based on the discussion.

The procedure adopted today whereby the commission has been made responsible for watching over the implementation of the resolution illustrates the seriousness with which we regard the work of the 19th Plenum and the consistency with which we intend to implement its conclusions and ideas. This is in any case in full agreement with our intention, expressed at the 13th Plenum, of increasing pressure on the practical implementation of resolutions.

Many different opinions have arisen on the subject of this plenum. On the one hand, there have been great and justified expectations; but there have also been expectations that went so far as to expect that the plenum is some magic formula that will solve all the intelligentsia's problems immediately and radically. This is, of course, impossible, although the plenum does have a great qualitative burden and should bring about progress in all intelligentsia spheres, and thus in practically all the spheres of our nation's life.

On the other hand, domestic and foreign adversaries as well as malcontents have spread the view that the plenum will contribute and change nothing. This is a false, disarming, and harmful view. I think we can prove that the supporters of this view are deeply mistaken.

Central Committee members have listened attentively to the eminent intelligentsia representatives taking part in our talks. Their voices fill one with optimism. It is easier to overcome difficulties when one has support like this.

The discussion was sincere, principled and critical and completely free of compliments and the like. We also did without the pessimism which has recently become so fashionable and without the false hurrahs of optimistic assessments. Declarations and praise cannot be, and indeed are not, a measure of respect and goodwill toward the intelligentsia; it is above all the honest and sincere pointing out of negative phenomena, which are sometimes even morbid, and of various kinds of foibles and, first and foremost, the setting of tasks which are great and commensurate with the ambitions and possibilities of the intelligentsia, that are a measure of this respect and goodwill.

The discussion at our plenum--in which both party and nonparty representatives of various intelligentsia spheres and specialities, workers and peasants, representatives of the party, state and economic apparatus took part--was of direct, if I may say so, symbolic significance from this point of view, in particular from the point of view of promoting the idea of understanding and agreement. There were various approaches and emphases but there was a common voice concerning the supreme issue--the need to speed up the country's development.

There was no "we and you" or "we and they"--slogans which are still so frequently found in our life, or that kind of boldness of tone. The discussion also managed to avoid hasty generalizations, which in such cases carry the threat of false simplification. This is very important. A common cause is best served by austere realism, unexpurgated facts of life and awareness of the full extent of both good and bad experiences.

Divisions and conflicts which today appear in our society, and thereby--or perhaps even especially--among the intelligentsia, and the struggle connected with these arise first from ideopolitical and class antagonisms separating all that which is socialist or capable of constructive coexistence and harmony with socialism from that which is antisocialist; and secondly from the constant thrust of that which is new, progressive, creative and conducive to development, efficiency, and modernity against that which is old, fossilized, obsolete and clearly not adapted to the requirements and challenges of the present day. The party sees its duty as a combination of resolute defense of the principles of socialism with the will and skill for renewal perceived as a process of constant implementation of ever more effective and modern solutions.

The line of the Ninth Congress stems from the Marxist-Leninist conviction that the leading role of the working class and the implementation of the class-based course of the party are not carried out at the expense of other classes and strata and of working people, but serve the whole nation. Stressing the leading role of the working class does not mean division and competitiveness but means defining the place of the front-ranking force of socialist construction according to its historic and social mission. The services which progressive Polish intelligentsia has rendered in shaping patriotic attitudes, defending against the loss of national identity, upholding the will to attain independence, and stimulating social changes are an exceptionally valuable inheritance.

The deeper we go into these matters, the fewer ambiguities there are and the more difficult it is for our opponents to practice manipulations which prey on myths and falsifications. The future will be decisive but the past teaches us: This is the significance of the struggle for the historical education of the

nation, in particular young people. We must know of what we are to be proud, what we must overcome, what we must foster, and what we must burn out with a hot iron.

A sharp, penetrating Leninist reply to this type of question--let me recall the article "Concerning the National Pride of the Great Russians"--is also a valuable inspiration for thought on the most dramatic Polish affairs. This is a debt owed by us to the social sciences and to our socialist theoreticians and writers.

A deeper qualitative synthesis of what goes into the building of a new system in Poland is necessary.

Batting an eyelid at the universal laws of socialism as a kind of servitude resulting from so-called "geopolitics" is a mistake. In turn, sharp differentiation between what is praiseworthy, advantageous, and creative and what slows down, delays, and burdens is a condition for the success of socialist renewal. One should also be warned against rightwing, revisionist meandering, as well as against hurrah-revolutionary dogmatic mirages.

We are opposed to a chauvinistic, megalomaniac version of polycentrism. But we are also opposed to cosmopolitan naivete and blindness. Poland has already been the "peacock and parrot" of the West, with well-known results. The brutal facts of the latest years have been another lesson to us. The restrictions are not only a deliberate blow to our economy as a whole, but also have resulted in reduced convertible currency for the purchase of laboratory equipment, new stocks of books, and scientific trips. We regard this experience as yet another argument in favor of depending on our own strength and on enhanced cooperation with the countries of the socialist community.

This does not mean that our science and culture are faced with the problem of whether we should gear ourselves toward the East or toward the West. Modern science and culture must be open to the world and to all its directions. But it is not we who thought up the often absurd restrictions in the flow of technology, but COCOM (Committee for Control over the Market), which is controlled by the United States. There have never been and are no such restrictions in relations with the socialist countries. In the case of the East, we are treated as an equal partner. Our progress and development lie in the interests of the entire community. We find every socialist state a well-wishing and solid partner and an extensive, grateful auditorium for our national achievements and ideals.

There were periods in our history when the gaining of statehood, the reconstruction of what was destroyed, and the laying of foundations were the prime national task. Today the chief task is to carry out decisive progress in the economy, and in particular to carry out a qualitative leap in the scientific-technological sphere. To simplify things greatly one could say this is the real Polish "to be or not to be."

This is the main link. All our other problems become secondary when set off against this, even though they continue to be exceptionally important. The discussion was particularly rich in the item on the agenda about science, technology, and the economy. It revealed numerous weaknesses and showed how great the

waste is in the sphere of the intellect. This must not continue. The quality of bread or shoes is criticized but the greatest losses are caused by shoddy results which arise in creating assessments, programs and designs, and, in particular, in general decisions. The quality of what it itself produces is a matter for the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia should be the antithesis of botched work, and botched work should contradict what the intelligentsia is about.

There exist great reserves--both cadre and organizational reserves--in thought and activities which help further progress. They require fundamental, including system-based, solutions. Pertaining to these are, among others, decisions which ought to expand the flow of cadres from higher education establishments to industry and vice-versa. It is the mission of science to pull forward, like a locomotive, the economy and social life, civilization, thought, and customs. The yardstick for assessing the sciences is to be found in the reply to the question of how much they contribute toward Poland being rich and toward man being able to live easier and better. And the yardstick for assessing the social sciences is to be found in the reply to the question of how much more intelligent and better, more productive at work, and more creative in social activity man becomes thanks to them.

The provisions of the next 5-year plan are nearing completion. The third congress of Polish science is being prepared. Work is in progress on the draft program of the party, which will go as far as the turn of the century.

From this plenum, we call on all milieus of the Polish intelligentsia to participate in this work. We are counting in particular on honest assessments and opinions. We are expanding and improving the system of opinion-making. We have introduced, among other things, a system of lectures for party and state activists at the central level by distinguished scientists, who will deal especially with theoretical and development problems. Voivodships should also be capable of taking advantage of these experiences.

The issue of culture was raised in the discussion. It is an enormous field, starting with--let us say--the top floors of artistic creativity, via a whole spectrum of various forms of dissemination and participation, and all the way to everyday matters. Meanwhile, the comprehension of culture which lingers in our society all too frequently applies to a small, albeit important part. The concept is least frequently applied to the area of mutual relations between people. I would not like to oversimplify the complex dilemmas of cultural policy or belittle the significance of creative processes. However, even the greatest achievements of the intellectual spearhead are a voice calling in the wilderness if they do not effect a constant and visible improvement in the elementary norms of civilized existence and coexistence, everyday attitudes, manners and habits, and care for the fine quality of the Polish language.

Today, the minds of young people are to a large extent swayed by cosmopolitan substance and pastimes; the minds of adults not infrequently are preoccupied with black magic, quackery, diviners, and occultists. We are facing the 21st century, but there is still no shortage in Poland of the 16th, 17th, and 19th centuries. These attitudes must be removed, and in this lies the mission of the Polish intelligentsia. The scale of obscurantism and ignorance, mutual

bickering and spite, primitive manners and ordinary vulgarity, including the embarrassing behavior abroad of some Polish tourists and pseudo-tourists, is still very widespread. Who is to fight against such evil if not the Polish intelligentsia? This is the struggle for the good name of Poland, and at the same time the significant platform for a sense of national unity, joint responsibility, and accord.

Socialism in Poland also needs the kind of mass culture that expresses and ennobles the lifestyle of various social circles and unites them into one cohesive and constantly developing stream of national culture. We want human life under socialism to be colorful and interesting so that everyone can live this life in accordance with his own vision, ambitions, talents, and in accordance with the common good.

We hope that the report being worked out by the National Culture Council answers the question: How can culture serve the nation and the wellbeing of the Poles, and what can be done to make social existence on the threshold of the third millennium more attractive?

We stressed once again that we apply and will continue to apply meritorious criteria in assessing creativity. Lenin said that in such a delicate private matter as cultural and artistic creativity, there is no room for mechanical leveling out and for majority rule over a minority. Cultural creativity cannot be treated as a routine. One can afford preplanned schemes less in this sphere than in any other.

I think that, guided by this remark of Lenin's, one can apply a simple rule to various kinds of creativity: The good of Poland, humanitarian values, and basic loyalty toward the state count most of all. We will not sink below this level. But neither do we intend to convert anyone to socialism by begging or force. That is the way we formulated our policy toward prewar professional cadres immediately after the war. This policy has proved itself and is doing so today.

The party wishes to be open to everything, even if it is bitter, difficult, and rough, as long as it stems from our Polish problems and hopes, and not from cynical nihilism.

Not everyone who criticizes us is against us, and not everyone who praises us is with us. Let us correct mistakes regardless of where the criticism comes from.

The whole complex of problems pertaining to the intelligentsia is to a large extent the whole range of problems connected with the fair assessment and correct selection of cadres. At a future session of the Central Committee we intend to examine a report on how the principles of cadre policy adopted by the 13th Plenum are being implemented. Concerning some of them, we shall prefer the best ones regardless of their organizational allegiance--people who are highly gifted, inquisitive and full of ideas are not in short supply. We are not responsible for the frustration which comes about through their own fault but we feel, we must feel, responsible for the feeling of not being appreciated caused by the defective nature of organizational and incentive systems and also caused by the subjectivity of assessments and by preference being shown for mediocrity.

This must be said openly. And one must also speak openly, therefore, about the fact that often false yardsticks are applied by one scientist when assessing another scientist, by one economist against another economist, one engineer against another engineer and one doctor against another. One of the reasons why arrangements slowing down progress have been doggedly maintained is the long-standing horizontal promotion. This was mentioned at the plenum.

For decades the main road to material and prestige advancement led through appointments to successive management posts. People whose place, due to predisposing factors, was in creative, research, and design teams often have administrative functions. What is worse is when they often move outside their profession, and also sometimes out of the country. The potential creators must become real pioneers of progress, they must take advantage of their great chance. We have fought already for different goals in our party. It is now time to begin the struggle for talent, which is a priceless commodity for our nation and which is why this should be subject to special efforts and the solicitude of the state and the party.

There are two tasks here: First to discover and develop talents from the youngest years--this is mostly the duty of schools; and second to stimulate them, because after all each person has some kind of talent. We heard recently on television many impressive statements by secondary school pupils: They wish to study diligently, this is their first goal. Today they are taking their matriculation exams. Let us greet them warmly on this occasion, as well as their parents and teachers.

It is essential to create effective methods of encouraging scientific-technical imagination among young people, and broadening and coordinating initiatives such as the SZTANDAR MŁODYCH youth academy. The system of bursaries granted from the level of the chairman of the Council of Ministers down to the level of managements of large plants will encourage people with talent to take part in processes of innovation. These bursaries will be granted primarily to talented creators of science, so that they may concentrate their energy on a task which is of particular importance for widescale development.

Comrades! Allow me to relate to one, albeit very broad stream of discussion which dealt with the intelligentsia's material situation.

The first issue is to find resources for improving the intellectual's workplace, improving its furnishings and ensuring its constant modernization. Greater resources will be assigned to this in line with our abilities. The Politburo report speaks of this and decisions of this kind will be made. But at the same time let us remember that where there are tools of work, they must be used to the full. An extreme example was provided by Comrade Wojtal--the library where in a year only four items of specialist literature were borrowed.

The second issue is pay. This is one of the most important and most severe problems. Both the absolute and the relative deterioration in the living conditions of most intelligentsia groups give rise to our party's concern. High pay for intelligentsia does not conflict with workers' interests. On the contrary, they will be repaid with profit by serving the interests of the working class

and the entire nation. It is not, therefore, the question of whether to pay more but of how much and for what. It is no shame to talk about money; wasting it is a shame. The principle, I give so that you may give, known since antiquity, cannot vanish.

"Leveling out" is a contradiction of socialist social justice. This applies all the more to the intelligentsia. Here, the fundamental principle of "everyone according to his work" must mean fair differentiation. This means that the people who are most creative, those whose talent, knowledge and assiduity give rise to the biggest achievements, deserve considerably more even if far-reaching preferential treatment is given to them. And also the opposite.

Side by side with leveling out there often also occurs unjustified and excessive contrasts such as the fictional holding of many posts which is not borne out by real work, frequent, lucrative trips abroad which are of no use to the country, and subscribing to the achievements and inventions of others. There can be no preferential treatment here.

What can be done to bring order to the system of earnings? How can the necessary funds be generated? At the present stage, in accordance, after all, with what was promised we shall take the most urgent steps, in particular, decisions pertaining to earnings in the sphere of science and higher education. The next decisions will come at the appropriate time. The appropriate ministries will work on this. But in a considerable number of cases enterprise collectives and milieux of the intelligentsia which are directly involved will, after all, take decisions. Thus, the activities at factories and institutions should be of decisive importance. It will not be possible to carry them out exclusively by means of administrative decisions and measures and even less so if these come from above.

It is already the case that in earnings matters in general, everyone agrees as regards the general principles, but when one has to say specifically who should be given something and who should perhaps have something subtracted, silence falls.

It will be necessary to overcome this silence. During the debate the issue of motivation, and not just material motivation, was raised. The desire to participate in political life and a readiness to get involved, make joint decisions, have joint authorship, are expressed very clearly and directly in polls of the public opinion research center. We are very pleased that there is no shortage of people who put forward these factors to the fore in their list of aspirations. This defines the importance of the moral awards. There is scope here also for the bitter truth. In writing books, television and radio there recur names of authors of concepts of construction projects and technical projects: the Augustow canal, Gdynia, Central Industrial Region--but nearly all enterprises built in Poland during the 6-year plan and following 5-year periods are unknown. We do not do enough for public opinion to know both the outstanding workers and the most merited creators of science, technology, culture and other fields of intellectual activity. The Polish intelligentsia has its noble avant-garde, worthy of the highest respect. To show them to the nation, to make them an example to follow and the point of reference--this is the lofty duty of our party.

Here I would like to join in the voices reminding us about the intelligentsia's huge achievements in People's Poland. This achievement must be constantly confirmed, if only because it helps overcome various complexes, feelings of inability, and pessimism. Present difficulties encourage us to concentrate on weaknesses, delays, and neglect. But it would be wrong and unfair to forget the huge achievement of the 40th anniversary and the effects of the last, particularly difficult period, which the respectable effort of our patriotic Polish intelligentsia helped alleviate to a great extent.

The Ninth Congress has drawn out the line from which there is and there will be no turning. In order to realize the socialist renewal, so that the party while staying the same was not quite the same, we have done quite a lot. So that there can be no repeat of deformations, about which the report adopted at the 12th Plenum on the reasons and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland speaks, it is necessary to steadfastly overcome the opportunism directed both toward the class enemy as well as the evil in our ranks, combat the methods and habits which pull us back.

I receive many letters on this subject. In one of these, a worker from a small village writes: Down here people begin to complain more and more about bad relations among people, cliques and injustice. There is a lot of injustice in work enterprises when awarding bonuses, decorations or allocating apartments. There is still drinking at work in enterprises. Even the authorities at the top drink. There is a great slackening of discipline. This is the image which is perhaps too generalized and too extreme, but it must be treated as a warning signal.

The same thing is contained in the speech of Comrade Professor Erazmus, who warned in the columns of WPROST against a rebirth of bureaucratic-alloof horizontal structures at some local levels of authority.

This is also confirmed by reports by the Center for Researching Public Opinion. It stems from these that in more than one milieu, the shape of social structures leaves a lot to be desired. Some of the people polled observe a neglect of public opinion, arrogance, violation, and an abuse of office. However, efforts to overcome old methods are appreciated. There is no doubt about the truth of this. We have reason to speak with satisfaction about how much has changed for the better, how much we have managed to improve, and which methods have been irrevocably removed. But the results of these polls also show numerous weaknesses and shortcomings still in force. Therefore a more effective and resilient activity is correctly expected of us.

By the way, ceremonious commemorations of important events and anniversaries are of course necessary.

For after all, we took part in them recently with justified emotion. But we must not permit a return to theatricizing public life and to an excess of pomp and titles. There are extreme examples whereby the actual heroes of an event merely become a background for "dignitaries." Normalization does not mean a harmful recreation of harmful methods and obsolete patterns of social life. There can be no room for this kind of normalization.

It is the ABC of political action to gain people. The line of accord and struggle is of special importance in intelligentsia circles, and it requires very careful differentiation. Today's times, though full of tension and difficulties, have the quality of removing masks and revealing true views and attitudes.

Together with the entire Central Committee we are with those from the working class, the party and the whole of society who ask loudly: Why did we invest in education and tolerate various Najders [head of Radio Free Europe] and what must we do in this sphere for the future? Why is it the case that in higher education establishments a young person devoted to the homeland winds his way through a veritable obstacle course and the top-boy of antisocialism takes advantage of concessionary rates? Why are there cases of excluding in elections some persons for the sole reason that they are active members of the party? And at the same time obvious reactionaries are often defended and even given preferential treatment. It should be stressed once again that we do not bar the way to anyone who wants to get out from the quagmire of total negation. We do not intend to announce triumphantly that in every matter it was we who were correct. We do not demand that anyone loses face. Even an electronic brood hen will not reduce the time that it takes for chicks to hatch. There are matters for which it is not possible to speed up the time it takes to resolve them. Sometimes it is necessary to have surgical intervention.

However, it is more often the case that patience is, and ought to be, effective and in accordance, after all, with our ideas.

Of course, there is a time limit to everything. We are not going to drag toward according those who have still not understood that the real, socialist Poland is their only homeland and who, while advanced in years, prefer to retain the mentality of indignant teenagers. We are going along a road of dialogue and partnership, and autonomy and self-management for intelligentsia organizations and associations. This is an impulse for the people of goodwill who are active today to fulfill the cause of accord and normalization in the intelligentsia milieu through their own efforts and with their own hands. People who act never know how history will judge them in retrospect. But one thing we are sure of--it will not forgive absence, passiveness and torpor, and it will assess with approval participation, activeness, creative thought, contribution and action.

The guests of our plenum have represented various milieus, occupations, and areas. But we have not experienced, and I must admit I did fear this, a transfer of responsibility, shirking, and insulting. The speeches were marked by a feeling of joint responsibility--in the face of Poland. This applies particularly to our party. [After all, its role is to encourage and organize creative group thinking, Marxist-Leninist synthesis of its results, and leading the way in introducing progress into social practice. This is a role of demolishing what is conservative, hampers progress, and interferes with the implementation of socialism's political principles. At the same time, it is a role of organizer of the use of our real, Polish possibilities. As many comrades have said, the party should be the generator of progress in workplaces and the economy. It should be the initiator of rapid promotion for creative people and of changes in cadre policy and social relations.]

The party does not intend to voice opinions about microprocessor technology. Nor will it say whether the chemical synthesis process is ideologically correct. It is obvious that the party and government leadership cannot take the place of the nation's intellectual front. But at the same time, the party will never renounce its influence on the kind of steering of science policy, scientific investments policy, cadres policy, and financial grants policy that assures an optimum combination of what is feasible with what is essential.

Basic duties for the party intelligentsia stem from the PZPR's role conceived in the above way. We have said in the report for what we are grateful to the party, where we see weaknesses, and what we expect. The "task of task" on educated comrades, especially those active in the social sciences, education, culture, and mass communications, is to develop an offensive concerning the propagation of the fundamental contents of our party's program and policy. This involves above all leading at work and innovation and creating a shining example of responsibility for the socialist state, for the sake of Poland's future.

The plenum was devoted to domestic affairs, vital to the country. But an awareness of all the problems in the international situation, especially the imperialist threats that are often equipped with an anti-Polish tip, has not been absent.

Hence everything that strengthens our country, in other words the conclusions we draw from this plenum's talks and the tasks we perform, will be a stabilizing factor that objectively serves peace. Comrades Krasowski, Walichnowski, and others have spoken about this clearly.

The plenum has been an inspiration for concrete activities for today, tomorrow, and beyond, as well as for theoretical and scientific generalizations which should be taken up by scientific establishments, especially the Polish Academy of Sciences and Academy of Social Sciences.

[Our meeting has had a practical and theoretical meaning. This is a great quality. It has been an important plenum. It crowns a certain stage, but, what is most important, it is tackling basic problems and formulating future tasks.]

We are highly indebted to the broad social support. The plenum's universal character and the way it has dealt boldly with the subject matter in hand bring honor to the Central Committee and to all Polish intelligentsia representatives who have faced this task so energetically and creatively. [Intelligentsia affairs cannot be treated as a campaign.] This must be a system of action under constant improvement. Everything we have adopted and all the intelligent words we have said will be proved by practice. It is with practice that we will measure the value of this plenum and its future significance for Poland.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

URBAN ON CHURCH-STATE MEETING, WALESA

AU311626 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 May 85 pp 4, 5

["Transcript" of press conference given to foreign journalists by government spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 21 May]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Donald Forbes, REUTER: Mr Minister, could you tell us about the current stage of investigations into Jozef Szczepanski [who told Walesa he had been recruited to kill him] and whether it is true that he was sentenced in 1981 for murdering a militiaman? If so, how is it that he has been released so early?

Urban: I have no news about any new developments in the investigations. This does not mean there are none. All it means is that every investigation takes place according to its own rules. The results are not always published. But I have no news about which I would be obligated to remain silent. However, it is true that Jozef Szczepanski was sentenced for killing a militiaman. [passage omitted] On 23 December 1982 the Voivodship Court in Gdansk sentenced him to 14 years imprisonment on the basis of Article 157, paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, in other words, for participation in a scuffle with fatal consequences.

Following an appeal lodged both by the prosecutor's office and Szczepanski's lawyer, the Penal Chamber of the Supreme Court found Szczepanski guilty of manslaughter on 21 June 1983 and sentenced him to 11 years in prison on the basis of Article 148, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code. In other words, this was a very peculiar case in which the Supreme Court sharpened the legal qualifications of the offense by recognizing Szczepanski as not guilty of inflicting death in a scuffle, in other words unintentionally, but guilty of simple homicide [zabojstwo], and imposed a lesser sentence of 11 years in prison. The Supreme Court recognized mitigating circumstances, which are of course contained in the court record of the time--a low level of mental development, a diminished psychic state, and a difficult family situation. Szczepanski received his first leave pass for the period 9-14 December 1983, 3 and 1/2 years after being imprisoned, on the basis of Article 59, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, in other words, on account of important circumstances in life, in this case his wife's illness. The second permit was issued for identical reasons. [passage omitted] Also taken into account was the fact that Szczepanski has two children aged 8 and 9 today, who were of course younger then. [passage omitted]

You expressed doubt whether a person sentenced for killing a militiaman should be granted a leave pass. The fact that the victim was a militiaman possessed no meritorious value because the scuffle had no connection at all with the performance of a militiaman's function or with service duties. The dispute was of a private nature, involving money. On the other hand, in cases like this, practice often fails to take into account the weight of the crime. The Penal Code says that leave passes may be granted for model conduct and diligent work after half the sentence has been served. The decision is made by the prison governor with the permission of the prison judge, and in urgent family cases, by the judge alone, and only in emergency cases by the governor. [passage omitted]

I wish to inform you that a total of 11,397 prison leave passes were granted in 1984, of which 4,326 were granted on account of urgent family circumstances. In other words, Szczepanski's pass was one of 11,000. What I am saying has of course emerged during the course of the investigations which are currently being held and which are examining all these issues in detail.

By the way, I wish to say that there are many very surprising and irresponsible commentaries on this case in the Western press. For example, we read in LIBERATION: "Why is Jerzy Urban, known for his cunning, making such a show of this matter?" The paper suggests two explanations: "Either Szczepanski's story is true, in which case why cannot the police find the tall, intelligent, dark-haired man who, according to Szczepanski, made him the concrete offer of killing Walesa? Or he is a lunatic, which cannot be ruled out. The whole thing is a disinformation operation whose purpose," says LIBERATION, "is clear. No one in Poland should feel safe, not even a recipient of a Nobel Peace Prize."

In other words, it has been suggested that I have some perfidious reasons for replying to your questions on Szczepanski. No doubt there could also have been a suggestion that I have reasons for not wanting to reply to these questions. It is also said that it is very odd that when a person says he met a dark-haired man, 1.80 meters tall, who spoke very articulately, it is impossible to find this man in a country with 36 million people on the basis of this description. Expectations like this are completely idiotic, especially when this person has been invented, which is probably the case. Then people say that if all this is invented and Szczepanski really is a lunatic, that means the Polish authorities deliberately sent him in order to terrorize Walesa.

This is one of those journalistic tricks which leave the actions of the Polish authorities no chance. For everything that happens and everything we do has to mean that we are deranged criminals. When we talk it is bad, when we do not talk it is bad, when we fail to find Szczepanski's alleged accomplice it is bad, and when there is no accomplice it is bad, because it means that we have sent a lunatic to terrorize poor Walesa. [passage omitted]

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Minister, on 3 May PAP reported the expulsion of ABC employee John Berg from Poland. I protested against this because we knew nothing about any expulsion of an employee of ours and asked for an explanation. And I would like to know if the matter has been cleared up. I was not here last week when you referred to this incident. I am disturbed by the fact that a week after my protest and request for an explanation, nothing has been done. I would like to ask for an explanation now.

Urban: Very well, madam. I even have two protests stemming from you on different issues, so I will reply to both at the same time. I have quite simply been told the following: John Berg, U.S. citizen, born on 2 January 1954, passport number 694976, stayed in Poland from the beginning of December 1982 to 13 December 1982 on a Polish tourist visa. On 13 December 1982, he was expelled from Poland for working with ABC as a fitter, because he did not have the authority to do so, having a tourist rather than a journalist visa. We are no longer able to say today whether the facts are based solely on his statements or whether there was any confirmation of his employment for your bureau as a fitter. Maybe he gave false information; I do not know. Maybe someone impersonated one of your employees and performed some other activity. I do not know what happened. I am quite simply quoting the findings of the Polish authorities at the time. However, right now I cannot confirm their correctness, in other words, prove that he indeed worked for ABC as a fitter. The appropriate authorities are merely saying that that is the case, though on what basis I do not know. I am giving you all this information so that you yourselves in ABC headquarters may determine who he is and what he was doing here or why he pretended to be an ABC employee.

You have also sent me a copy of a letter you wrote to Director Ryszard Frackiewicz from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which you claimed that the militia interfered in the work of your team. In connection with this, I can say that being present in the vicinity of an illegal gathering or demonstration must carry the risk that the peacekeeping forces may apply the measures foreseen by the law. When breaking up illegal gatherings, the peacekeeping forces may use these measures against any person, regardless of the reason behind his presence there. In any case, it is similar in other countries. Similar protests are made to police forces in other countries. This is an eternal conflict between the professional activity of police forces and correspondents.

Our Foreign Ministry cannot protect correspondents who find themselves in the vicinity of illegal gatherings or rallies. If they do find themselves there, they bear responsibility for themselves and should be aware of the consequences. This is exactly the same answer you would have received from the American police if they had tanned the hide of your team during some street disturbances. [passage omitted]

Dominique Gerraud, AFP: Mr Minister, could you confirm whether Professor Tabaczynski, deputy director of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Material Culture, has received some sanctions for protesting against the dismissal of Mr Geremek, and if so, have other persons also experienced such sanctions for this kind of protest?

Urban: I know nothing about this.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Mr Minister, you said earlier that the presiding judge in Gdansk will be the person to decide which foreign journalists will be admitted to the trial of Michnik, Frasyuniuk, and Lis. As no decisions have yet been made in this matter, I would like to ask whether we may receive an assurance that this trial will be open and whether it will be at all worth our while traveling to Gdansk.

Urban: Because the court has made this very decision today, I may tell you that it is not worth going to Gdansk. The court has decided not to admit the Western press because it wants the accused to address the court and concentrate on their own trial and on their defense. The point is for them to speak to the court, and not to the cameras and microphones of foreign journalists. Therefore, for the sake of proper proceedings, foreign journalists will not be admitted to the trial, and a trip to Gdansk is senseless. There will be no exceptions to this rule.

However, the trial will be open and one will be able to learn what is happening there from the reports of Polish journalists.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Could this be a precedent for the future political trials?

Urban: No, because every court makes decisions appropriate to the nature of the case and to other factors.

Charlie Gans, AP: You said that foreign journalists will not be allowed to attend the Gdansk trial. Will this ban apply to other foreign visitors who may be interested in attending this trial?

Urban: I do not know. You see, my office made inquiries in the court only about journalists.

C. Bobinski: Do you expect any harassment of the journalists who will want to loiter about the court premises to find out what is going on? I have in mind police harassment, which did occur during KOR trials.

Urban: We have no police and no harassment. Please ask serious questions.

D. Garraud: Minister Lopatka spoke of considerable progress in the work on the legal status of the church. Could you tell us some particulars about this status and the deadline for its introduction?

Urban: There is no deadline. What Lopatka said was that the confidential talks on this most complicated subject had made some progress, which gives rise to optimism. I have nothing to say regarding what this progress involves because the whole work requires an atmosphere of confidential tranquillity.

Ryczkowski, INTERPRESS editorial board: The Western press has reported that Lech Walesa was invited to France. Will he be able to travel to France?

Urban: Like every other citizen, Walesa should first of all apply for a passport if he wants to travel to France. His application will be considered by the passport authorities, which in most cases issues passports to applicants. However, in Walesa's case they would have to find a legal loophole to do so because investigations are in progress against Lech Walesa in connection with his crime against Article 282, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code--a crime involving activities to create public unrest. When investigations are in progress against a person, his application for a passport is generally refused. But there are exceptions to this ruling.

Instead of applying for a passport, Lech Walesa continues to demand special guarantees, but the passport authorities give no guarantees to anyone, and Lech Walesa should not expect any. Personally I am for issuing a passport to Lech Walesa. Let him stay in France as long as possible, even if he should try in time to harm our country from there. Perhaps, having lived in France for some time, Lech Walesa may become more reasonable in looking at Polish affairs. He told Western journalists that he wants to travel to France with Lecturer Bronislaw Geremek. I have spoken twice recently about Geremek's harmful activities, which means that we know what to expect of him. Frankly, we prefer Lech Walesa to promote his activities in France on the strength of the fund of his own ideas.

C. Gans: What is the political importance of the Chinese vice premier's Polish visit?

Urban: The visit attested to a gradual improvement in our relations, and we are very pleased with it. We are particularly pleased with our present economic cooperation and with the various projects, which we discussed and which require further work.

D. Garraud: Are any French-Polish negotiations about Walesa's proposed trip to France taking place at any governmental level?

Urban: Negotiations? Why?

Robert Strybel, the Polonian press: If, like Blumsztajn, a person staying abroad does not violate the passport regulations, is it possible to deprive such a person of Polish citizenship for some activities?

Urban: There are cases in which it is possible to deprive a person of Polish citizenship, but I do not know the detailed regulations applying to such cases.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

VISIT OF LI PENG TO POLAND PRAISED

AU031121 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 May 85 p 2

[PAP commentary: "A Tightening of Contacts, an Increase in Trade"]

[Text] A PAP journalist writes: The official visit to Poland by Li Peng, vice premier of the PRC government, is highly indicative of the present state of relations between our states. On the one hand it is yet another important event in the chronicle of mutual high-level contacts (let us recall that Janusz Obodowski, our deputy premier, paid an official visit to the PRC a few months ago), designed to obtain a better knowledge of our partner and to determine the spheres, extents, time, and forms of cooperation, especially economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation. On the other hand, this visit has been an opportunity to create a basis for a treaty on considerably more energetic cooperation based on a better knowledge of each partner's possibilities and on already-formulated future plans. An expression of this desire was the 5-year trade protocol signed in Warsaw which forecasts serious growth in mutual trade and an increase in the range of commodities being exchanged between the PPR and PRC.

The Polish and Chinese sides took this opportunity to express their readiness to continue to act for the sake of increasing the type of mutual cooperation that agrees with the line of action of both states--the line of Poland, which closely coordinates with the CEMA countries which have supported us so effectively in the face of the anti-Polish activity of the United States and a series of other Western countries, and which is ready to develop cooperation with any partner that supports the idea of mutual advantages and equal rights; and the line of China, which, after years of well-known setbacks, is now conducting an "open door" policy, regarding Poland as a partner of fruitful cooperation and on that is worthy of attention.

The communique on the course and results of Vice Premier Li Peng's visit shows how busy his Polish visit has been and how fruitful its results are. The long list of talks held by the Chinese guest, discussions with Polish experts, his visits to numerous Polish enterprises, and the highlight of the visit--the reception of the high PRC government representative by General Wojciech Jaruzelski--all this, crowned by the signing of a long-term trade agreement, is the best confirmation of the desired direction in the development of mutual relations and of its positive and encouraging prospects. Therefore, there have been more than just courteous expressions of satisfaction from both sides about

such trends. China regards Poland as an important, good partner for economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation, a partner which may offer a lot that is good and from which a lot can be learned. For us, People's China is a great and very interesting partner whose extensive proposals for cooperation complement our economy to a great extent. What is even more propitious for such prospects is the fact China has begun to implement far-reaching economic reforms, with the primary task of radically increasing the effectiveness of its economy. Hence its interest in our experience, reforms, and solutions.

Vice Premier Li Peng has returned to his country enriched with a picture of the Polish economy seen with his own eyes and perpetuated by such a large number of talks with Polish partners. This will certainly serve the correct performance of the tasks contained in the 5-year trade agreement and in the further work plans by the Polish-Chinese intergovernmental committee for economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation. This is a good basis for enhancing and spreading cooperation.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

HUSAK CONGRATULATED BY POLES UPON RE-ELECTION

AU291145 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 May 85 pp 1, 7

[Message of congratulations from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak on his reelection]

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, in Prague:

Esteemed Comrade Husak,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the Council of State of the PPR, and personally, we send you sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your reelection to the office of president of the CSSR.

We pay our respects to you as a long-standing activist in the Czechoslovak and international communist and workers' movement, an outstanding statesman, a passionate patriot and internationalist. We wish you new successes in work which will further the many-sided development of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Your life's work has been commendably and inseparably linked with striving for progress and social justice, with the national liberation struggle against fascism, with the events of the Slovak national uprising, with efforts to revive independent statehood and the establishment and consolidation of people's power in Czechoslovakia. Your many years of fruitful work in the position of general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, your personal contribution to the construction and blossoming of your native country are of historic proportions for the Czechoslovak state and its peoples.

Under your leadership, Czechoslovakia has played a significant role in strengthening the unity and fellowship of the socialist states in their fight to preserve and maintain peace and international security, and achieve a return to detente, against all those forces that want to turn back the course of history.

The Polish people and our party offer you--an outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak peoples and a sincere and true friend of Poland--our deepest respect and esteem. We value greatly your personal involvement in the work of strengthening friendly relations and many-sided cooperation between our fraternal parties, nations and peoples.

Dear Comrade Husak, please accept our sincerest wishes of good health and more outstanding achievements in your responsible work for the good of Czechoslovakia and its peoples and for the cause of socialism and peace.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the PPR.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTRY ON COMPENSATORY IMPORTS

LD251221 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1550 GMT 25 May 85

[Excerpts] And now for 3 minutes on meat, rice, tea and even citrus fruits. In a word, Anna Andrzejewska talks about compensatory import with Director Wladyslaw Szczepankowski from the Ministry of Foreign Trade. [passage omitted]

[Szczepankowski] Wherever possible we strive, obviously, to link our purchases with Polish exports. Recently the Agros Trade Enterprise signed a contract for the purchase of tea in exchange for the export of containers. This is just one example. The situation is similar to such items as fruits from the south. To give an example, this year we purchased lemons from Greece, linked mainly with the export of Polish machines. Obviously, with such goods as meat we are also able to link the export of certain types of beef, or of cattle themselves, with the purchase of pork, which is more popular and in demand in Poland. Perhaps a couple of words about rice. We buy most of our rice from the People's Republic of China. We supply various kinds of mining machines, installations for various enterprises, and buy rice and tea in return. And of course a series of other goods, too. [passage omitted]

[Andrzejewska] We are buying far less meat this year than in the past. However, we have bought lard and oils.

[Szczepankowski] This year we are importing meat--over (?21,000) metric tons--partly on the exchange basis I mentioned earlier. We have also bought a certain amount of lamb from New Zealand, in exchange for supplies from our electrical machine industry. However, where lard is concerned--15,000 to 17,000 metric tons--it comes mainly from Hungary, and in part from certain Western countries. [passage omitted]

[Andrzejewska] Let us return to the purchase of lemons and oranges. [passage omitted]

[Szczepankowski] This year we are importing about 30,000 metric tons, mostly oranges, from Cuba. All in all, including the supplies of lemons, there ought to be about 60,000 metric tons. Obviously, we are aware that this is not enough for the market, whose needs are greater. At present we have to pay for everything--if not through our exports, in ready cash. And unfortunately we don't have too much of this.

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTER ISSUES ORDER ON WWII ANNIVERSARY

AU131012 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 May 85 p 1

["Order by the Minister of National Defense Dated 9 May 1985"]

[Text] Soldiers! Forty years ago, on 9 May 1945, the Third Reich disintegrated under the blows of the heroic Soviet Army and under the effort of the anti-Hitler coalition, including also the Polish Army. White-red standards were planted in the ruins of Berlin, beside the victorious Soviet standards. They symbolized the Polish people's contribution to the victory over fascism and documented Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms. That is how World War II ended for Poland.

It was for us the most difficult test in history. It placed our nation in the face of a danger of physical extermination. During every day of occupation, almost 3,000 Poles gave their lives in battle or perished in concentration camps and Hitlerite prisons.

The Polish people never bent before the enemy's force and terror. From the first days of the war, the Polish soldier fought on all the anti-Hitler fronts. A mass resistance movement developed in the country. The incorporation of a national and social liberation program into the struggle meant that our nation entered the road leading to a reborn, democratic, and people's Poland.

Today we bow our glorious standards before the warriors for national liberation. On this historic day, we pay homage to all participants in the battle against fascism. Their victory created a foundation for lasting peace. The past 40 years confirm the reality of these hopes. Despite constant efforts by revanchist forces to upset and undermine the postwar territorial order in Europe, peace has been preserved. This is the result of joint effort by the socialist states and all the forces of peace. Let the young generations of Polish soldiers pay the highest honor and respect to the heroes of the struggle for our fatherland's freedom! Let not a single drop of blood spilled for Poland be forgotten! May the heroism of the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which brought freedom to the Polish lands, be forever alive in our memory.

Soldiers! On the 40th anniversary of your victory, I convey to the veterans and combatants of World War II--the illustrious joint creators of the May victory--as well as to the soldiers of the Polish People's Army Reserve--the joint organizers and defenders of the nation's security and peaceful work--warm greetings and sincere wishes.

I warmly greet professional soldiers, soldiers undergoing basic military service, and employees of the army and defense industry. I thank them for their honest effort, high combat efficiency, and effective work. I wish you further success in the building of our state's defense potential. Faithful service to the socialist fatherland is a Pole's basic duty and a creative expression of his patriotism.

I convey best wishes and greetings to our incontestable friends and comrades-in-arms; the soldiers and veterans of the Soviet Army.

I greet the soldiers of all the fraternal armies guarding peace and socialism.

To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory, I order the firing of 24-gun salutes on 9 May 1985 in Warsaw, the capital of the PPR; in Chelm, Kolobrzeg, Szczecin, and Zagorzelec; and in Bydgoszcz, Wroclaw, Poznan, and Gdynia, the headquarters of the military district and armed forces commands.

Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense.

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

INTERVIEW WITH S. KALKUS ON ECONOMIC REFORM

AU301219 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 May 85 p 4

[Interview with Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Politburo member, by Zdzislaw Zaryczny:
"The Romm for Play"--date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Zaryczny] Comrade Kalkus, has the economic reform penetrated to your working position in the Cegielski plant?

[Kalkus] I have read this question in papers many times. Journalists are inquisitive and keep asking people whether the reform has penetrated the grass-roots and has reached workers. The answer in 80 percent of the cases is no!

My view is that such a question should not be asked. It is a crude question and deserves crude answers. We should first talk about various new issues and solutions and how they fare, and only in the end should we ask whether these issues and solutions amount to a reform. Politics can be practiced in many ways.

When I ask the Cegielski workers about the economic reform in, say May 1985, which is the time when they get their 14th wage [wage system calculated on monthly basis with bonuses] and when most of them receive various additional bonuses for their export achievements, they will say: "Yes, yes, we owe all this to the reform!" But when I ask them about the economic reform a few months later, when it may happen that no bonuses can be had because of some failures in work organization, they will catch up with me and almost belabor me with questions such as: "What about prices? What about the stocks of use-less goods? And what about other shortcomings? Is this your 'reform?'"

In that case whom are they against? Are they against the reform? No! They are against the muddle, which we are still unable to eliminate. They are certainly not against the reform!

And can you really blame a worker, a comrade of mine at work, when he says that he does not understand the reform? Probably, if I were not a party activist and if the time could be turned back a few years ago when the reform was just launched, I would also have been interested only and exclusively in my job. I would also have said to you: "Leave me alone and do not talk to me about the reform of your. My task is to work honestly!"

We must not expect that 90 percent of work forces should know exactly what the economic reform is all about. It is important that they know their wages will fit their efforts and that they understand that the bonuses they get at the end of the year are for their more productive efforts and that they deserve these bonuses. This is the reform: This is the language I use when talking with my fellow workers about the reform.

[Zaryczny] Does this mean that, for example, workers have no wider knowledge about the laws on enterprises and self-management?

[Kalkus] What I am saying is that such things are not the focus of a worker's interest and I do not think that we should raise an alarm because of this. What I would really like to see is for self-management, trade union, and party activists as well as enterprise managers to show that they know how to apply these laws. This would be quite enough. Let us not turn workers into politicians and economic experts. This is not the point.

[Zaryczny] What is the point?

[Kalkus] Let us agree on one thing: Designers and technologists are the primary people who determine the modern character and high quality of products. On the other hand, workers and skilled tradesmen determine the practical implementation of progress on a massive scale. This is the answer to the question on who needs to know about the economic reform and to what extent.

Fostering this knowledge is no more and no less than creating the mechanisms in factories that would truly ensure that engineers, technicians, and workers find it profitable to work effectively in every job.

[Zaryczny] To do this it is necessary to exert continuous pressure in order to ensure that the implementation of the reform is what it should be.

[Kalkus] We have this pressure. Today every factory management, if it fails to create conditions for effective work and opportunities for good earnings, and fails to ensure a high discipline of work and wages, may face the threat that people will work badly or will leave the factory.

[Zaryczny] And what about worker traditions and attachment to one's factory?

[Kalkus] This is falling apart. Where are the times when the father, the son, and the grandson continued to work in one and the same place and prepared the job for his successor? Everyone knew that if the grandfather was diligent his grandson would be diligent and would be given the job. Today we have no attachment to one's factory and no discipline.

Be sure that workers know all about this state of affairs. They say: Create new conditions and enforce discipline! But who is going to do this? Warsaw? Vice Premier Szalajda? Voivodas? People say that discipline is gone forever and that if a foreman who died 20 years ago could be recalled to life and have a look at his factory--at that disorder, disorganization, could-not-care-less attitudes, and connivance at drinking at work because, as some people say,

drinking at work means nothing--he would die another death, this time through the failure of the heart. He would certainly have exclaimed: "What has happened? This is not my factory!" This is our basic problem.

Have you ever heard that someone who bungles everything is liable to be fired? Have you ever heard of such a case? No one has ever heard of such a case because we are still short of manpower, and that is why botchers are also given jobs. This is where I have been disappointed by the economic reform. It is not courageous enough. We would be better off with fewer workers, but ones that can really work. [passage omitted]

[Zaryczny] Comrade Stanislaw, how long have you worked in your present job?

[Kalkus] Since 1 September 1949--over 35 years.

[Zaryczny] During those years three attempts at large-scale reforms have been made in Poland. The first one took place in the late 40's and broke down when you began to work. You no doubt remember the second one in 1957 and the third in 1970. Could you tell me why they failed?

[Kalkus] You have spoken of the reforms that I call the reforms in quotation marks. I want to apologize if I have hurt anyone by this remark. For me the true reform is the one adopted by the Ninth Party Congress in 1981. We began implementing this reform in 1982.

[Zaryczny] You have not said this because you are now near the center of power?

[Kalkus] Nonsense! During all the 35 years of my work in the Cegielski plant I have never seen so many opportunities for economic actions by the plant's management as I can see now.

[Zaryczny] And do you think that this is a good thing?

[Kalkus] A very good thing. My wish is that this state of affairs lasts as long as possible.

[Zaryczny] Why did you speak of the other reforms as reforms in quotation marks?

[Kalkus] Because they made absolutely no impact on anything. At least this was what we saw in the workshops. Certainly, I read in the newspapers that there was a reform, but there was no trace of it in my plant. But now you see and feel the reform everywhere!

[Zaryczny] People saw and felt the 1957 reform, which enjoyed better conditions than the ones we have now. We now have many more problems such as the crisis of confidence, stagnation, indifference, enormous debts, and a disorganized economy. Do you think that our chance might materialize precisely under such conditions?

[Kalkus] I will give you a political answer, the one which you surely expect: Every period--up to 1956, up to 1970, and up to 1980--was marked by some definite progress and lasting achievements of the national economy. However,

because the economic mechanisms were faulty, the results we obtained were inconsistent with our potential and efforts.

Now, it seems to me, our opportunities are feasible for the first time.

[Zaryczny] What opportunities?

[Kalkus] First of all, the economic reform has the firm support of the level-headed Polish intellectuals and of the workers class, an overwhelming majority of which can no longer see any future for our economy without the economic reform.

[Zaryczny] To see is not enough. It is necessary to support the reform and to fight for its success.

[Kalkus] Let me speak in concrete terms! If you asked those who run our plants what is the most important thing for the economic reform, they would give you this answer: First, at long last formulate correctly and clearly lasting guarantees for the freedom of action within the framework of the reform. This is what we hope to obtain from the Poznan economic conference. We hope to obtain more room for maneuver. If this is not granted, we will be disappointed. Do you understand us? Second, make it possible for us to sign contracts and accords that will enable us to keep our workers with the help of proper wages. [passage omitted]

[Zaryczny] This is what managers would say. What would your workmates say?

[Kalkus] Frankly, my workmates do not grumble about their earnings. Nor do the workers in the well-rung important plants. But I do not want to generalize.

In the plants in which wages are below the national average, the workers who do piece work will probably say that all they care for is for their work to be available and well-organized so that they know what they have to do without having to wait for various materials and component parts. [passage omitted]

Sooner or later the nation that wants to be sure of some future must put its own house in order. This is the greatest opportunity for and the greatest guarantee of the economy reform. [A photograph which appears in the body of the preceding interview shows Kalkus wearing overalls and operating a metal-working machine]

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

MICHALEK SPEECH ON PEASANTS DAY

AU291252 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25/26 May 85 p 2

[Speech by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek at the 24 May concert at the Polish Theater in Warsaw to mark Peasants Day]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades and friends! Esteemed farmers and agricultural employees! The politically organized people's movement in Poland is 90 years old.

People in agricultural labor have been celebrating their holiday for over 80 years. This is a beautiful jubilee, worthy of the highest recognition. In Poland Peasants Day has risen to the status of a national holiday. On this day, millions of workers and broad sections of the intelligentsia join with their hearts and minds those who feed the country. For our goals are common, and also common is our home--People's Poland. [passage omitted]

Esteemed participants! The successful development of rural areas and agriculture may only take place in social calm, with the rural areas unified around their vital interests, and by everyone engaging in harmonious joint activity toward the socioeconomic goals defined by the PZPR and ZSL and which permit the development of agriculture and the agricultural-food industry.

This is not just a slogan, but the obvious truth. After all, every patriot sincerely wants our people's fatherland to finally stand on its feet, and wants life in it to develop for the benefit of Poles in general.

That is why we too are opposed to confusing rural residents, sowing unrest, creating a climate of an uncertain tomorrow, and general negation. These destructive activities by the domestic and foreign adversary are harming most of all the vital interests of rural inhabitants themselves. Therefore this must be resolutely opposed.

A particularly important role is borne by the local, cooperative, and workers self-management bodies. The shaping of a suitable social climate in rural areas, so important for their harmonious development, depends on the good activity of these bodies.

They may count on help and support from party primary bodies and cells, as well as from ZSL circles. We support everything which serves to consolidate our

state and the building of a better tomorrow. This is also how we will behave in future.

Self-management bodies may and should also perform a more active role than so far in improving living conditions in rural areas, among other ways by initiating the construction and modernization of the rural social and technical infrastructure. This way they may bring about a settlement of the social differences still existing between town and country.

When building a better rural community, we must think not only about ourselves, but also about the young generation. It is becoming essential to create the right conditions for young rural people to fulfill their life's ambitions and aspirations.

Young people themselves may to a major extent provide the future shape for rural areas. However, what is needed here is young people's initiative, commitment, drive, and consistency in overcoming all difficulties. Of course there is no revelation in this, but how often we forget obvious truths.

Youth organizations, especially the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] and Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] have a particularly broad field for initiatives like this. After all, this activity contains an important educational element. For we usually value and respect what we have been given and what we have achieved easily less than what we have earned with great but honest labor.

As usual at this time of year, there is a great amount of work facing us in agriculture. In a few months time we will commence the harvests, followed by difficult work in the fields during the fall. Let us therefore do our utmost to ensure that this year's agricultural results are not worse than last year's and to make 1985 go down in memory as another stage on the road to self-sufficiency in food. The most recent years have been favorable to Polish agriculture. We achieved significant progress in plant production, and improvement is occurring and favorable trends are establishing themselves in animal production. We are pleased that many peasant and state farms and agricultural production cooperatives are achieving increasingly better results and that many of them have become centers of productional and social progress--an example for others to follow.

To mark the approaching 90th anniversary of the political people's movement and of Peasants Day, I convey to all farmers and agricultural employees on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee leadership sincere greetings and wishes for all success. May you be happy in your work and personal lives, dear friends.

We also convey warm greetings to members of the ZSL, who, together with PZPR members and broad masses of nonparty social activists, are acting for the sake of our rural areas, for the sake of the people's fatherland's successful development.

May Polish rural areas develop in peace and calm--for the good of all Poles.

POLAND

INTERVIEW ON DRUG ADDICTION IN POLAND

LD300852 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2020 GMT 28 May 85

[No video available]

[Excerpt] A conference devoted to combating drug addiction, took place today at the Internal Affairs Academy.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified presenter] I have invited one of its participants, Colonel Andrzej Grabowski, from the Criminal Bureau of the Main Headquarters of the Civic Militia, to the studio. Col Grabowski is head of the department dealing precisely with this problem. How many addicts have we in Poland?

[Grabowski] It seems to me that this question is not really expressed as well as it might be. We can speak only of estimates. Some say we have 100,000; others, 200,000; while still others state there are far (?less). [passage omitted] In fact, nobody can tell us, with full responsibility, how many of them there are; probably we shall never know exactly.

[Presenter] How many clash with the law? In other words, those you encounter?

[Grabowski] A considerable quantity. This is a very criminogenic milieu. More or less, about 4,000 annually. I am speaking of 1984.

[Presenter] What do Polish addicts take most frequently?

[Grabowski] The sad thing is that 80 percent of Polish take so-called kompot. This is a brew, usually made from poppy stalks or poppy heads, containing forms of morphine, heroin, as well as other extremely toxic substances. Thus, besides addiction to drugs, there is also the process of poisoning oneself, and so the fact that 80 percent of addicts use these home-made narcotics, which are so toxic, this is the specific feature of the Polish drug problem, this is its danger.

[Presenter] What age are these people usually?

[Grabowski] Generally they are young people. An addict--an old addict--is about 30, and this is the age at which he usually dies. More or less two thirds are addicts under the age of 21. As for minors among them, well, there are several thousand. By minor I mean under 18.

[Presenter] From what milieux do these people come?

[Grabowski] A variety. Except that I should like to demolish a certain myth here. Among widespread families, well-connected youth, no this is not true; generally you can say that in homes where alcohol reigns, where you might expect the kids to drink [word indistinct]--at the moment, these kids now take kompot. [End recording]

CSO: 2600/818

POLAND

CRITICISM OF CHURCH IN FARMERS 'OPPOSITION RALLY'

LD181230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Now, we will discuss an article by Henryk Wicherkiewicz entitled "About Farmers, Without Farmers" published in today's DZIENNIK LUDOWY.

The author recalls a peculiar ceremony which was held last Sunday in St Stanislaw Kostka church in Zoliborz--peculiar, because it was a combination of an opposition political rally with a religious mass. It was allegedly devoted to farmers and village life, but there were few farmers there and they were not interested in the event. During the mass prayers were said for Jozef Pilsudski, Father Popieluszek and Grzegorz Przemyk. There was talk about the solidarity of private farmers belonging to that proscribed organization.

The speeches of the clergymen, the paper writes, made many valid statements. Concern in many instances related to what has been implemented by the rural activists from ZSL and PZPR. The need was stressed for good, honest work, and the combating of bribery; appeals were made to young people to stay in rural areas and to develop family farms. It is good, the paper says, that the church is endeavoring to support efforts made by rural activists; this is worthy of praise. But how can one reconcile this with the fact that immediately after the speeches made by the clergy, farmer Gabriel Janowski made a speech from which it transpires that the Polish countryside and agriculture can only be saved by Seweryn Jaworski, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and similar activists? The religious character of the ceremony and the positive slogans and appeals DZIENNIK LUDOWY stressed, were drowned in political [words indistinct] and hostile antisocialist remarks.

The clergy, the hosts of the church, silently accepted that. The question arises: what is it all about? Why does the church, while desiring good for the countryside and farmers, lend its authority to people who in the name of their private ambitions and political aspirations are endeavoring to create confused thinking and destroy the unity of the countryside?

On the other hand, the paper states, all actions are fruitless unless they are supported by the mass of rural people. Peasants are able to see the difference between politics and politicking, between the mass and an opposition demonstration.

During the ceremony not a single farmer, not a single countryside dweller took the floor. Speeches were made exclusively on their behalf. Who gave the speakers this right? DZIENNIK LUDOWY asks.

POLAND

MICHALEK INTERVIEW ON FARMING PROBLEMS

PM141046 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 23 Apr 85 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, by B. Kozlowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Kozlowski] Comrade secretary, spring work in the fields is considerably delayed this year...

[Michalek] That is not quite true. Spring comes early one year and late another, and it rarely coincides with its calendar date. The significant moments are those when, for instance, the bird cherry is in blossom, for that is the time to sow something or other, or when the willow-tree puts out its first green leaves, for that means it is time to see to the beet. It is the phenological phenomena that decides about dates here.

Thus, when we take a look at the awakening of nature, everything is late this year. Work in the fields is simply following the course of natural phenomena, and this means that it is running on time. In any case, it is all bound to be completed in the end, whether in March or in April. The days are longer now and work in the fields can continue into later hours, so things are progressing quickly everywhere. There is no question of any "arduous, self-sacrificing effort"...Normal, regular farming work is being carried out.

[Kozlowski] But there is a lot of accumulated backlog in that work and it is not so easy to get it all done on time.

[Michalek] That is true. We are facing the question whether we can carry out all our work in the limited time. Here much depends on technology, and there is more and more technology involved in our agriculture. Each year we receive 50,000 tractors. Last year alone the figure was 63,000, so this is not without its consequences. Some machines are likely to be standing unused since there are no spare parts for them. That is true. But, despite the shortages that have been dogging us, deliveries of spare parts are noticeably more substantial and our equipment is no less ready for our spring campaign than it was in any of the past years.

[Kozlowski] Our agriculture suffers from a shortage of nitrogenous fertilizers, these being essential for the soil in springtime.

[Michalek] There is indeed a shortage of nitrogenous fertilizers. Last winter, for well-known reasons, the fertilizer industry came to a halt, and the agriculture is suffering the consequences now. We will reduce the shortages, but we cannot eliminate them.

We have made purchases abroad. At the same time we have reduced exports of our own fertilizers. Yes indeed: Despite the shortages, we export a certain quantity of fertilizers. This is because the chemical industry must secure for itself the hard currency required for the purchase of spare parts for its plant, which is in turn essential if it is to produce fertilizers needed by our agriculture.

In this context we can, paradoxically, speak of the opportune delay of spring, for by now the production of nitrogenous fertilizers is in full swing and, albeit much delayed, these fertilizers are still finding their way to those farms where crop vegetation is the most advanced. Needless to say, the distribution system is imperfect, but then no distribution system, even if it were to be computer-controlled, can replace a healthily functioning market.

[Kozlowski] Will all that not affect this year's harvests?

[Michalek] That need not be a foregone conclusion. The situation should force us to apply rational utilization of fertilizers. We must not use the method of spreading a fertilizer without subsequently covering it with soil. There is good evidence that a certain type of chemical spray combines well with feeding the crops with an aqueous solution of urea. Foliar feeding of crops also gives very good results.

On the whole, rational utilization of fertilizers constitutes the main step which we need to take if our crop production is to expand. It is time to stop feeding the soil and start feeding the plants instead. That is one of the secrets to which many countries owe achieving yields significantly higher than ours, despite recording similar levels of mineral fertilizer consumption.

[Kozlowski] The kind of spring weather we are having this year tests the capacity of other sectors than agriculture. How do you, Comrade Secretary, assess the realization of those resolutions of the 11th Plenum which pointed to the need for fostering a pro-agricultural bias in industry?

[Michalek] It is like this: Obvious progress has been made with regard to deliveries of the so-called agricultural technology. Compared with 1980 we have recorded an increase of some 28-30 percent. First signs of equilibrium are beginning to appear in the case of certain kinds of machinery. Producers whose machines are more expensive to make than those of the same type manufactured elsewhere are beginning to find it difficult to sell their product. I regard a further future influx of agricultural technology as a certainty.

On the other hand, we have not had any particular change of orientation in our industry toward favoring agriculture. Large producers did not make that shift at all. Smaller producers did, but since their manufacturing costs were very high, they have been mostly ousted from the markets.

[Kozlowski] It is true that we have more agricultural machines, but their quality leaves much to be desired.

[Michalek] True. This is because producers who have never before made anything for agriculture suddenly decided to start making certain extremely complex types of machinery, having assumed that agriculture and agricultural equipment are things of great simplicity. And the junk they have turned out defies description.

This is why, when comrades come to me for advice on, say, whether it would be worthwhile for them to branch out into the production of cultivators in addition to their regular line of loading machinery, I subject them to an examination to test how much they know about cultivators. After all, a cultivator is not a simple frame that any blacksmith can put together. The essential part of a cultivator is its spring-toothed head--which, they reckon, can be made out of any old piece of tin. So what is there to discuss?

Therefore, I suggest the following course to them: If you can make good loading machines--and I know you can--then you should make more of those and adapt a certain number for agricultural use. I think it is far better to have certain types of machines originally designed for other sectors--for example, the construction industry--finding their way onto farms. The interesting thing is that people who use such machines claim that in terms of quality they represent a whole new generation of equipment. They are definitely superior to anything we get from the agricultural machinery industry.

If, then, we are to talk of a "new orientation," that is the way it should be going.

[Kozlowski] What about the chemical industry?

[Michalek] Here it would be difficult to talk about a new orientation. Here we need to invest to widen the scope of our production. In the case of fertilizers, this is taking place already, and your Police plant is a good example of it. I am almost certain that over the next 5 years our production of agricultural lime will be considerably expanded. And no economy measures will be applied when it comes to modernization of the chemical industry pesticides sector. We must build up the latter considerably, for we must not neglect investment if we want to ensure that the development trend in our crop production continues.

I have been putting so much emphasis on crop production because it determines the limits of livestock production. If we have enough animal feed, we will have plenty of hogs and cattle. No matter what economic changes take place--and take place they will--livestock production is not going to be given any marked preferential treatment. If it did, we would again--according to the principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul--be faced with low contract sales of grain and other crops needed by the processing industry.

[Kozlowski] Thank you for the interview.

POLAND

BRIEFS

WORK OF POLISH CONSUL IN KIEV--WPROST on 5 May published an interview given by Wladyslaw Kruk, general consul of the PPR in Kiev, to Piotr Andrzejewski and Krzysztof Golata. Here is an excerpt from it: [Andrzejewski, Golata] Could you approximately define the scope of the consulate's work? [Kruk] Our consulate in Kiev takes care of about 1,000 of the Polish citizens who live here permanently and possess Polish consular passports, and of a large number of other Poles who are staying temporarily in the Ukraine, including about 5,500 construction workers, service people who work for our trade missions, some 600 students, and about 100 graduates who come here every year to study for doctoral degrees and to attend postgraduate courses. You can include among these people groups of teachers in Russian language, workers of the party apparatus, and lecturers in social sciences who attend courses to improve their qualifications. Some 200,000 Soviet citizens who claim Polish nationality also live in the Ukraine. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 May 85 p 2 AU]

SEVERE SHORTAGE OF MEDICINES--Supplies of medicines are scandalous. This is the opinion of the majority of people who have to run from chemist to chemist in search of drugs. It has also been backed up by deputies during Sejm commission meetings. In view of the situation, a PAP journalist asked Minister of Chemical and Light Industry Edward Grzywa, whose department groups enterprises producing the great majority of pharmaceutical products, to comment on it. Minister Grzywa stated, among other things, that, although pharmaceutical supplies have risen by 10-12 percent annually in the past 3 years, equilibrium has not been achieved, because there has recently been a considerable increase in the demand for some drugs. At the moment there is a shortage of some 35 percent of the drugs supplied by domestic industry. The recently approved government program for drug supplies assumes, however, that there will be an improvement in the situation by the end of 1990. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 20 May 85 LD]

BULGARIAN CHURCH ASKS POPE TO DEFEND ANTONOV--Renata Bielecka reports from Sofia: The news that the trial of Sergey Antonov and two other Bulgarian citizens accused of taking part in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II is to begin in Italy on 27 May has outraged public opinion here. The view here is that imprisonment and indictment on the sole basis of the evidence given by Ali Agca, the assassin serving a life sentence, is a mockery of justice. At a press conference, in which eminent lawyers participated, a representative of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church also made a statement. He reported that the church

had sent a letter to Pope John Paul II, saying that since he had forgiven the assassin, Ali Agca, he ought to join in the defense of the Bulgarian citizens. There is a general conviction here that a verdict of not guilty will enable one of the most notorious political provocations against a socialist country to be unmasked and condemned. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 May 85 LD]

CONFERENCE ON DRUG PROBLEMS--In the Academy of Internal Affairs in Warsaw a scientific conference was held today, devoted to the problems of drug addiction. Doctors, scientists, educators, and teachers have been sounding the alarm. The number of drug addicts in Poland exceeds 200,000, two-thirds of whom are under 21 years of age. Drug addiction includes younger and younger people, and is spreading among children of elementary school age. This dangerous social pathology appears mainly in large towns. Nearly half the number of people depending on drugs neither work nor attend schools. The basic raw material for the production of drugs are poppy and hemp. In accordance with the law on preventing drug addiction, poppy seed plantation on small farms will be possible only until 1990, making access to drug raw materials more difficult. [as heard] But what next? Treatment of drug addicts is free, but there is a shortage of hospital beds, medicines, and medical specialists. Will the bill on combating drug addiction adopted by the Sejm help to overcome this most destructive social pathology? The bill has been in force for only 4 months. It does create chances for successful countermeasures against drug addiction through educational and preventive activity, by supervision over which could lead to drug addiction, by treatment, rehabilitation, and resocialization of people depending on drugs. When appropriate ministries, including the Ministry of Health and Social Care, and Ministry of Education and Upbringing, combine their actions with social actions--because it is very important that the community cooperate with appropriate state links--then I think that we will be successful in preventing this very dangerous and spreading phenomenon. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 May 85 LD]

GENERAL DEFENDS ROLE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS--KUJAWY of 2-8 May published an interview given by General of Division Zbigniew Blechman, commander of the Pomeranian Military District, to Jerzy Florczyk. Here is an excerpt from it: [Florczyk] What weapons do we have at present? Are we able to oppose our potential enemies? [Blechman] We are able to effectively oppose our enemies. We possess weapons of world class standards. They are just as good as those used by the Bundeswehr, the pillar of the North Atlantic Pact. For example, our air defense weapons are almost 100 percent accurate.... I know that the vision of "star wars" has created among nonmilitary people concern about the usefulness of the "traditional" combat weapons, including tanks, on the modern, eventual battlefield. Nothing is more erroneous than this concern in view of the fact that the entire NATO network includes some umpteen thousands of tanks. This is enough to show how useful tanks are even on the threshold of the 21st century. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 1 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2600/818

YUGOSLAVIA

CASES OF INJUSTICE TOWARD SERBS REPORTED IN KOSOVO PAPER

False Accusation Against Physician

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Mirko Cupic: "Found Guilty for No Offense"]

[Text] Jovanka Draskovic, a young physician and the director of the Gracanica Health Station, who has not even been at her job a full four years, and who has, in the meantime, become a wife and mother and is now buying a house, is already thinking of leaving the position to which she has come only recently and of seeking emigration from Kosovo. What has embittered this young physician and brought unrest and disturbance into her life and that of her family becomes obvious and comprehensible only when one leafs through the dossier of her "crimes." There are no written documents of the crimes of those who composed the dossier--they are simply innocent...

It was all unexpected. On 27 October of last year, Jovanka Draskovic happened to be at her compulsory weekly on-call duty at the Second Health Station. With her was her colleague, Dr Milica Lukovic, who is much older and more experienced than she. Dr Draskovic left at 1300, as she usually did and in accordance with general self-management regulations, to eat dinner and at the same time to care for her baby. Dr Milica Lukovic took over her duties, examining and treating all patients who had come to the clinic in the meantime. After returning to the office two and a half hours later, Dr Jovanka Draskovic was dumbfounded by what she saw in her examination room. Someone had splattered and smeared printer's ink over the picture of Comrade Tito and the wall from which it hung, as well as the table and everything which was on it.

"I was speechless, my legs simply gave out from under me, my blood ran cold. I don't know myself how I managed to stagger over to the office next door where Dr Lukovic was. She thought that I had become ill and started to treat me. Later I collected myself and told her what had happened. She was shocked," says Jovanka.

The two doctors, compelled by duty and a sense of patriotism, informed the police of this hostile act committed by an unknown perpetrator. An officer arrived promptly, took pictures, made notes, and left. Afterwards the Committee

for ONO and DSZ convened at the Health Center. The hostile attack was harshly condemned, and all seven members of the shift were referred to a disciplinary board. Thus was it stated and recorded. Hoever...

Dr Resmije Mumdziju, director of the Basic Organization of Associated Labor [BOAL] of General Medicine, within which the Gracanica Health Station operates, recommended initiating disciplinary proceedings against Dr Jovanka Draskovic alone. The uncertainty lasted almost three and a half months. An appearance in court was scheduled four different times, and four times it was postponed, allegedly because the commission was not able to meet with everyone present. The psychological pressure felt by the young physician was heightened by frequent heckling and by continual questioning: "Tell us who desecrated Tito's picture...You know who it is, don't you...Whom do you suspect...It's not someone who wears a white uniform..." Finally, on 8 February of this year, a decision came. The physician Jovanka Draskovic was fined by having ten percent deducted from her paycheck for one month. The disciplinary board decided that she had committed "a serious breach of job responsibility." The written explanation noted, among other things, that "the person in question is guilty because she left her place of employment for two and one half hours and because she did not lock the office upon departure."

Comments alleging that such breaks are used by all doctors who have weekly call duty, and that it is not the responsibility of the doctors to lock the office but that of the hygienist, were to no avail. It was pointed out that the person who was supposed to be concerned about this appeared only after the police had also arrived, and that this person stated that there was no key and that he did not have it in his possession. Everything was known except for who committed the crime, nevertheless, this was enough for Director Resmije Mumdziju. The decision was final, all complaints and objections were denied.

"I have been working here for 16 years, and I have been on call on a weekly basis only at the Second Health Station, and no one has ever been denied the right to take a break at dinner time, nor has the office ever been locked during these breaks. People know that if for some reason there should be a need to lock the office that this would be the responsibility of the hygienist. I am offended by what happened to my young colleague and I think that there is something fishy going on," says Dr Milica Lukovic.

It doesn't matter who should or should not have locked the office--because they say locking the door would have prevented what happened from happening--as it is obvious that locking offices in which Tito's pictures hang is not the way to protect them from desecration.

The culprit has not been found, but someone is, nevertheless, concerned. A telephone threat to Jovanka Draskovic warns of this: "If you say who did 'that deed' in the Health Center, you know what to expect." Jovanka Draskovic does not know, nor does she suspect someone, but obviously someone suspects and fears that she does know.

As soon as one disciplinary proceeding against Jovanka Draskovic was completed (her maiden name, Milatovic, was used in the reports and decisions), a second one was initiated. And it goes without saying that it was again concluded the way BOAL director Resmije Mumdziju wanted it to be concluded. The disciplinary commission fined Jovanka Draskovic 12 percent of her paycheck for one month, again because of a "serious breach of work responsibility." The grievance which caused this disciplinary measure to be pronounced was formulated in this way: "...It was concluded that the person in question refused to organize and to work during the afternoon shift at the Gracanica Health Station, although she was ordered to do so by the BOAL director..."

"I did not refuse to work double shifts, but I requested that I be put on an equal basis with all other health station heads regarding rights and duties. They all work only during the first shift; it was because of this that I agreed to work at Gracanica, because my job has been changed four times--with-out a dismissal--and now they want me to do what others are not obligated to do. It is clear to me why they are prosecuting me. I cannot endure the different forms of provocations any more--many of them cannot be made public--and I am seriously thinking of seeking another job and emigrating from Kosovo," Jovanka Draskovic says bitterly. In self-management acts of General Medicine BOALs it is indeed said that heads of health stations are to work only during the first shift. However, this does not rule out that there may be acts with different contents. The opstina self-management attorney also warned of this. He has come to the realization that the majority of self-management and opstina acts are not valid at the Health Center and in the BOAL to which it belongs. We will only say that there are two different books of regulations on compensation, and that they are used depending upon who needs what.

We were informed that during the last five days no new proceedings against Jovanka Draskovic have been initiated, but the possibility of this happening cannot be ruled out. She has complained to the Opstina Committee of the LCY, and now her friends, obviously in jest, ask: "When are you going to be disciplined again..?" People make jokes, and if it's possible, why not?

Harassment of Firm Director

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 85 p 6

[Article by Mirko Cupic: "Harassed and Then Rehabilitated"]

[Text] After seven years of persistent attempts to prove his innocence, Dragomir Cvetkovic, former director of the Prizren firm Metalac, has finally been rehabilitated.

The case of Dragomir Cvetkovic, who was for many years a social and political worker and business leader in Prizren, has reached a conclusion after seven years of persistent attempts to prove absence of guilt. The Coordinating Committee for Cadre Questions for the Prizren SAWPY Opstina Conference has stated that the entire proceedings concerning the dismissal of Dragomir Cvetkovic from his duties as director of Metalac and his forced retirement "were opposed

to the Constitution and to the Law on Associated Labor." The decision of the Coordinating Committee says, among other things: "...Find him employment which corresponds to his professional and educational qualifications, and which moreover takes into account his work experience and the positions at which he has worked up to now."

With the adoption of this resolution, a great injustice has been corrected which had been organized against this person by some former opstina and provincial leaders on the eve of the counterrevolutionary events, when cadres of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities were being openly attacked. Dragomir Cvetkovic, a graduate of law school, for many years a social and political worker, business leader and participant in the National War of Liberation, became the target of "invisible forces" (JEDINSTVO reported extensively on this) 14 years ago, more precisely, after 1971. That year, while a census of the population was being taken, Cvetkovic, as a member of the Opstina Committee of the Prizren LCY, openly pointed out that pressure was being exerted on the Moslem population in the Sredacki region, and that the people of this area, without exception, were being forced to declare themselves as members of the Albanian nationality. Such a comment did not suit the taste of irredentists who were systematically preparing the ground for the creation of an ethnically pure Kosovo. It caused Dragi Cvetkovic to be overlooked in all the upcoming elections and appointments, although he was a candidate for some of the higher opstina offices.

Influential people in power were able to push him out of political life, but they were not satisfied to do only this. They attempted to discredit him and to have him removed from his duties as director of Metalac. Many times offers were made to Cvetkovic from official offices in the opstina to go into retirement, even though he had not satisfied the requirements. When he refused such offers, procedures were started against him in order to investigate the sources of his property (April, 1977) only to be suspended by the first of Junly (because of lack of evidence). Then a new proceeding was organized a month before the first one had been concluded. The opstina court in Prizren opened an investigation against Dragomir Cvetkovic allegedly because of fraud and abuse of position. These insinuations, although false, were not without consequences. These individuals did succeed in what they cooked up. The Metalac labor council relieved Cvetkovic from his duties as director of the work organizations in February, 1978, with the explanation that he had committed a crime. Then followed tortuous legal discussions, until the Kosovo Court of Associated Labor called the whole procedure illegal and unconstitutional. This legal decision, although in effect, was never implemented. When Dragi Cvetkovic saw that there was no other way out, he agreed, against his will, along with buying up his length of service, to retire. Then all further proceedings against him were suspended, and the prosecutions and insinuations also ceased.

Offended as a person and as a communist, Cvetkovic could not be reconciled with the fact that he had been removed from public life in this way. As a result of his seven-year effort to prove his innocence, a final resolution of the Coordinating Committee for Cadre Questions of the Prizren SAWPY Opstina Committee was made concerning his rehabilitation, both as a person and as a politician.

As far as anyone knows at this time, this is the first case in Kosovo in which a Serb or Montenegrin has been rehabilitated who had been removed from any number of functions because of open conflicts with politically powerful people who incite counterrevolutionary events involving Albanian nationalists and irredentists with their activities. The rehabilitation of Dragomir Cvetkovic attracted attention above all because it came at a time when public demands were being made for the rehabilitation of some prominent Serbian and Montenegrin leaders who had been dismissed from their offices and driven out of Kosovo for the most part because they were prompt in pointing to the political situation in the province and to preparations which were being made by irredentists in order to implement their reactionary goals. It is a well-known fact that such dismissals and prosecutions have largely contributed to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and that they have introduced disorder and unrest.

With the rehabilitation of Dragomir Cvetkovic, the social and political structures of the Prizren opstina have acknowledged their readiness and determination for a concrete implementation of a political platform concerning Kosovo. Undoubtedly, examples like this will help slow down the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, will contribute to the return of confidence in weakening relationships between nations, but also to the return of confidence in organs of authority and justice. Cvetkovic received some satisfaction for the prosecution which he endured over the last decade and a half. He will also receive a position which will correspond to his competence and experience, but in spite of everything there will still be wounds which will remind him of this matter. Hence, the question arises: Will those who organized the whole process--and not just against him--who mentally and physically mistreated him, forced him from political life and then relieved him of his duties while stopping at nothing and without refraining from false deceits and insinuations, be called to account?

9548

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YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN WRITERS SOCIETY PROTESTS HARD-LINE PRESSURES

[Editorial Report] The 28 May 1985 issue of DANAS (Zagreb, pp 55-56), reflecting in part its continuing polemic with POLET, published a report by the presidium of the Croatian Writers Society and an accompanying interview with its president Marija Reakic-Mikuljan. The report and the interview expressed the view that the 9th Congress of the Yugoslav Writers Association held 18-20 April 1985 in Novi Sad had been a "free, open,...democratic and productive meeting" at which the Croatian delegates had made "a sincere and responsible appearance," despite the pressures exerted by a pre-Congress hard-line and "over-simplified" article in POLET by Milan Rakovac, a later article published after the Congress in the same paper by the same writer which attacked the Croatian Writers Society, and articles in VECERNJI LIST and SKOLSKE NOVINE which noted disapprovingly the "oppositional character of the Congress" and a "desire for power" on the part of writers.

The Croatian Writers Society report said that "individuals in some of the Croatian press had made blanket assessments even in advance based on the view that every expression of opinion which was not theirs was automatically anti-socialist." The report particularly accused "these individuals" of heating up the atmosphere surrounding the Congress and the Croatian delegates' participation in it, "seeing socialism to be in permanent danger, divided into a small number of friends and the ever-present enemies. From such a division there also arose that anti-intellectual anti-self-management warning to writers to stick to literature and leave politics alone, as well as the absurd accusation that writers want to take [political] power." "We continue to believe," the report countered, "that writers are also part of the working people of this country and as working people in a self-management society they already have power."

The president of the Croatian Writers Society, while implying that economic impoverishment is of more direct concern to writers at present than ideological divisions, deplored the "manipulation of writers," and described the report as an expression of the Society's general view of occurrences "which we consider quite serious" and as a public appeal to stop creating "this kind of atmosphere around the Congress and writers."